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THE NEW REPUBLIC

November 7, 1964

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Harry & Helen Miller	1200.00
Mary Kootz	600.00
Betsey Ott	560.00
Isaac & Fanny Brent	992.00
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George Smith	510.00
Amount of my traveling expences & boarding	5254.50
of lot No 9 not included in the other bills	39.50
Kremers expences transporting lot No 3 to Richd	51.00
Carryall hire	6.00
	$ 5350.00

I have this day delivered the above named negroes costing includeing my expences and other expences five thousand three hundred & fifty dollars this May 26th 1855

John W. Pittman

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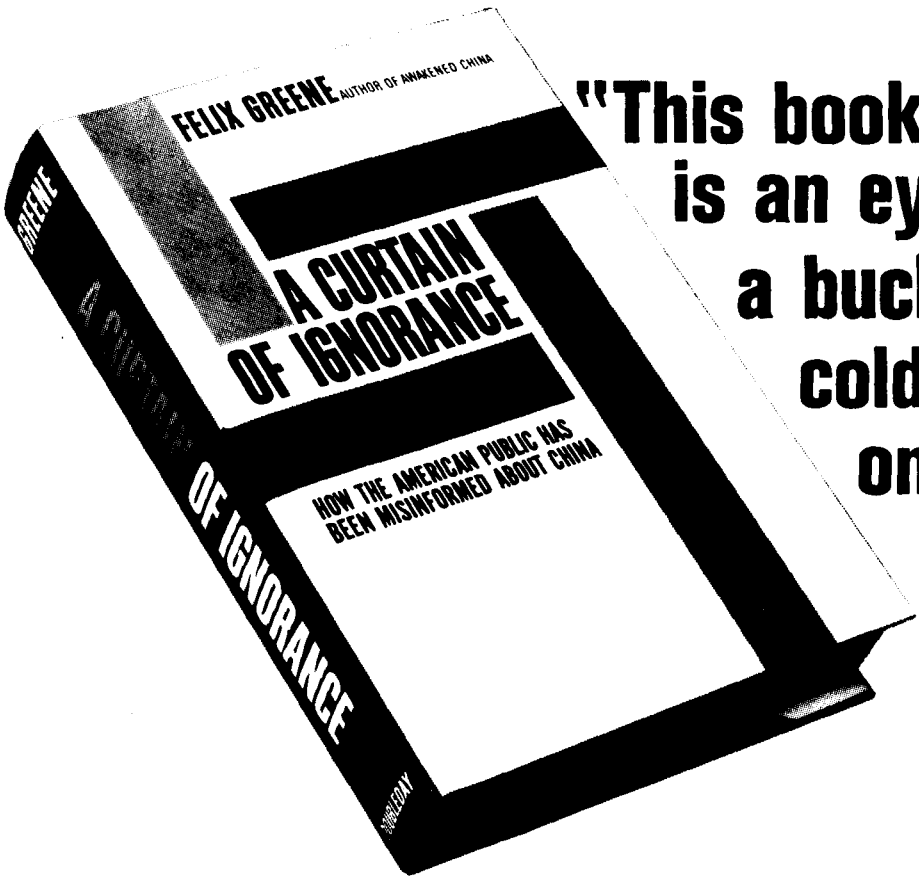
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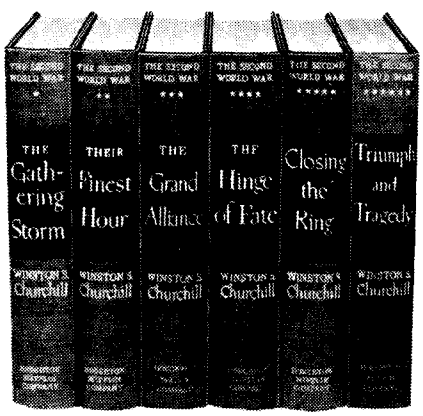

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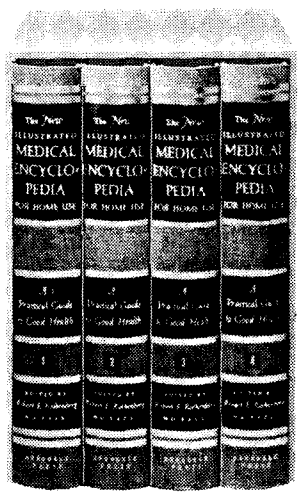

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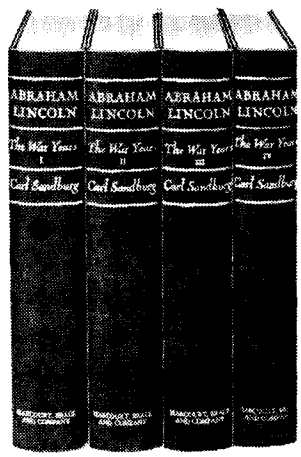

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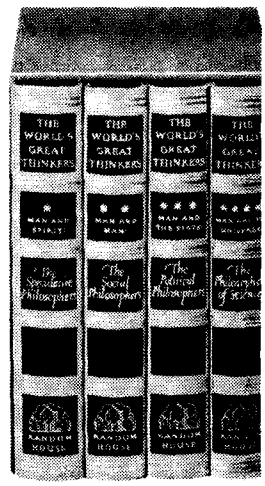

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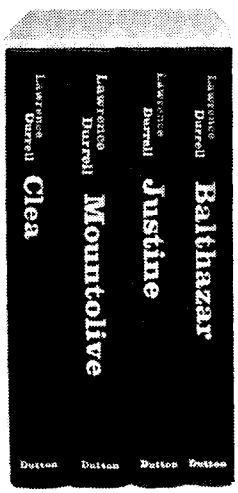

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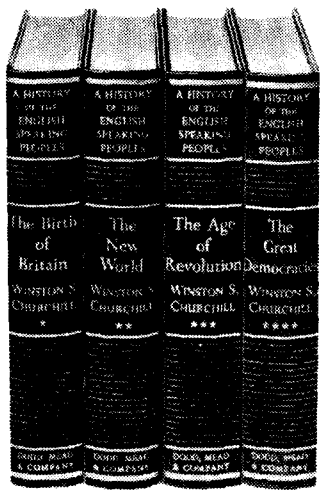

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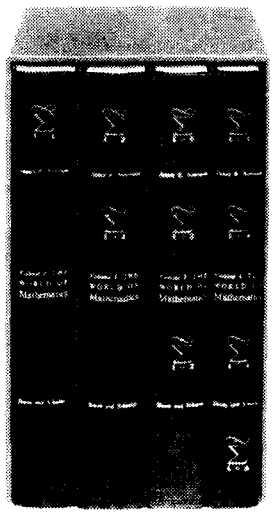

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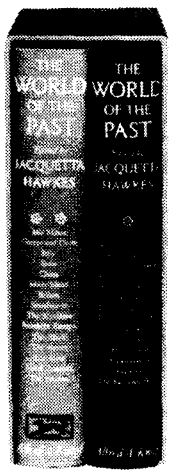

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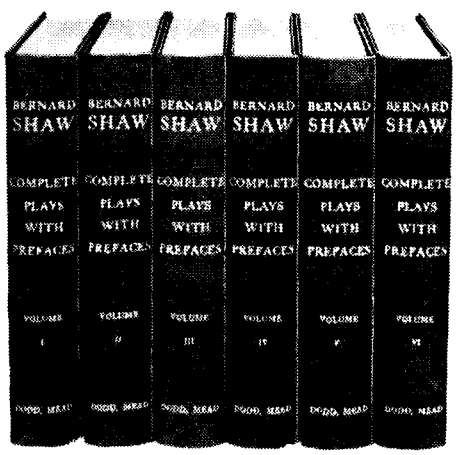

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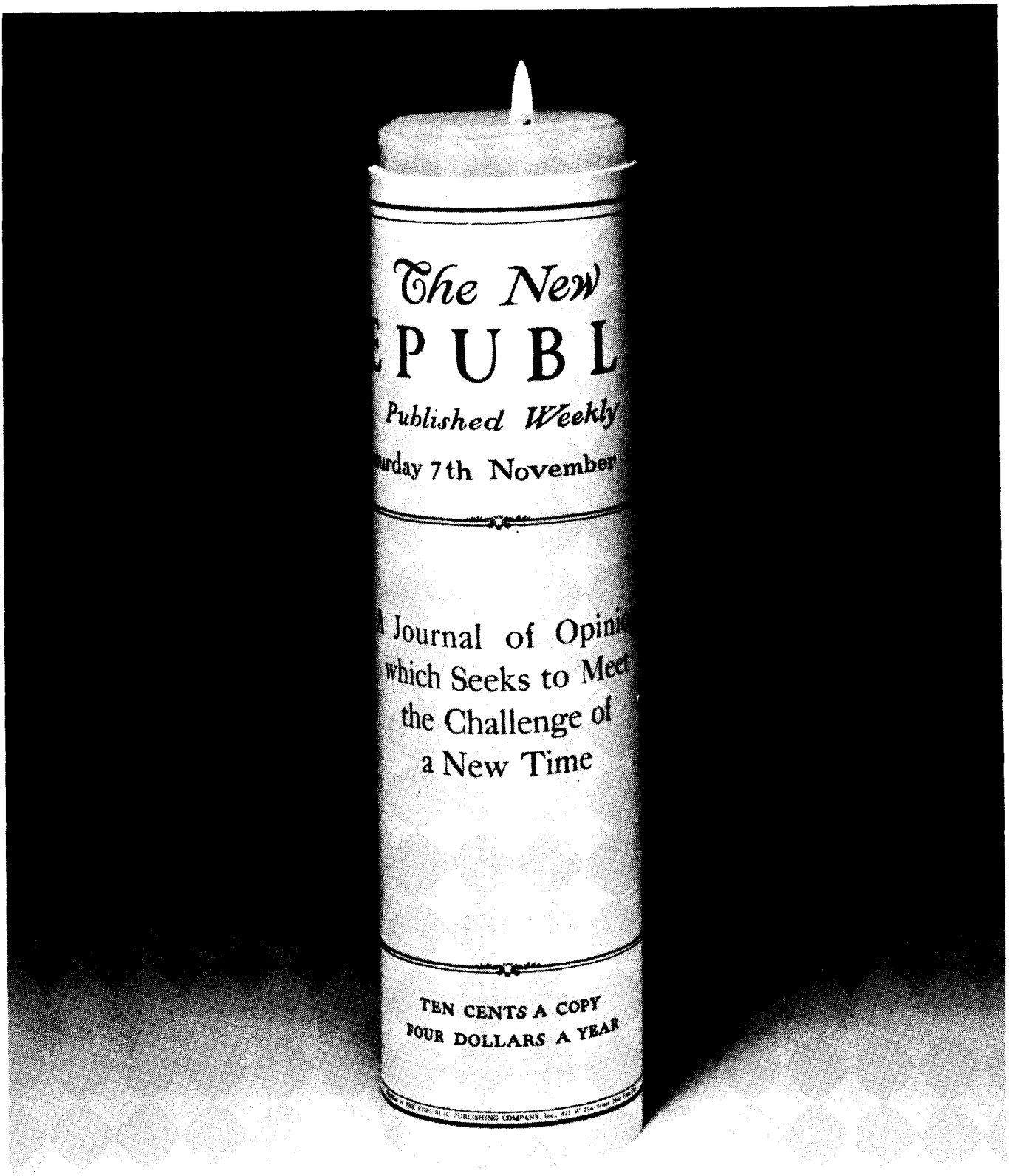

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TIME
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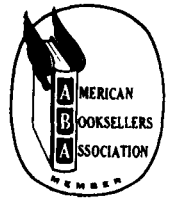

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let her love you

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Published weekly (except July and August when it is biweekly) and distributed by The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 35c. Yearly subscription, $8; Foreign, $9; Armed Forces personnel or students, $6.50. Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of addresses to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43301.* *Copyright© 1964 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.* *Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in* Readers' Guide.

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MR. REVELLE is Richard Saltonstall Professor of Population Policy and Director of the Center for Population Studies at Harvard University. He had been for many years Director of the Scripps Institution of Oceanography, University of California, and recently was University Dean of Research for all nine campuses of the University. During 1961-63, he was Science Adviser of the Secretary of the Interior, Stewart L. Udall.

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CHRISTOPHER JENCKS is a Resident Fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington and a contributing editor of *The New Republic.* The ideas in this article were first broached while serving as a consultant on education to Community Research and Development, Inc., a firm which is building a city of 125,000 between Baltimore and Washington.

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MR. MALMGREN has taught economics at Cornell and was in charge of the economics staff of the Institute for Defense Analyses. He recently joined the White House staff to work on problems of trade negotiations.

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DR. BETTELHEIM is Rowley Professor of Education at the University of Chicago and Principal of the Orthogenic School. Among his books are *The Informed Heart* and *Dialogues With Mothers.*

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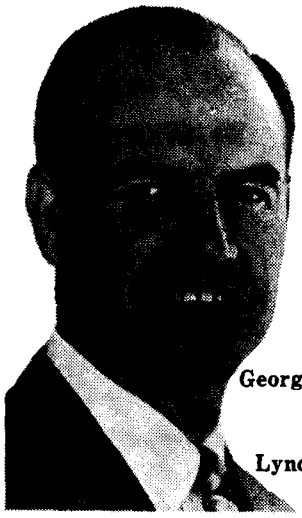

by Senator
George S. McGovern

Foreword by
President
Lyndon B. Johnson

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Youth: Opportunity To Be What? 59
by Robert Coles

DR. COLES is a child psychiatrist whose chief work is in social psychiatry. For several years he studied the adjustment of white and Negro Southerners to various forms of desegregation, particularly children at school and youth in the sit-ins. More recently he has been studying the lives of migrant farm families. He is Research Psychiatrist to the Harvard University Health Services.

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MRS. MILLER, Washington reporter and contributing editor to *The New Republic*, drafted the report of the President's Commission on the Status of Women, and is the author of *Greek Horizons*.

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MR. KEMPTON, a contributing editor to this journal, is the author of *Part of Our Time* and *America Comes of Middle Age*. He is a columnist for the *New York World-Telegram*.

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MR. BRUSTEIN is Professor of Dramatic Literature at Columbia, winner of the George Jean Nathan Award for best dramatic criticism in 1962, theater critic for *The New Republic* since 1959, and author of *The Theatre of Revolt* – a study of the modern drama.

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PROFESSOR HALLE, a frequent contributor to *The New Republic* and former member of the Policy Planning Staff of the State Department, teaches at the Graduate Institute of International Studies in Geneva. His books include *Choice for Survival* and *Men and Nations*.

Design and Drawing

NOEL MARTIN, who prepared the layout for this special issue, is responsible for *The New Republic's* typography. He is one of America's foremost designers and typographers. His work has been exhibited in The Museum of Modern Art, New York; the Library of Congress; the Musée National d'Art Moderne, Paris; and United States Information Agency Centers in Europe and Latin America.

ROBERT OSBORN, whose illustrations recur throughout this issue, is well known for the sharply satirical and imaginative quality of his drawings. His work appears frequently in *The New Republic*, and other magazines, as well as in his books, the latest of which is *Dying to Smoke*.

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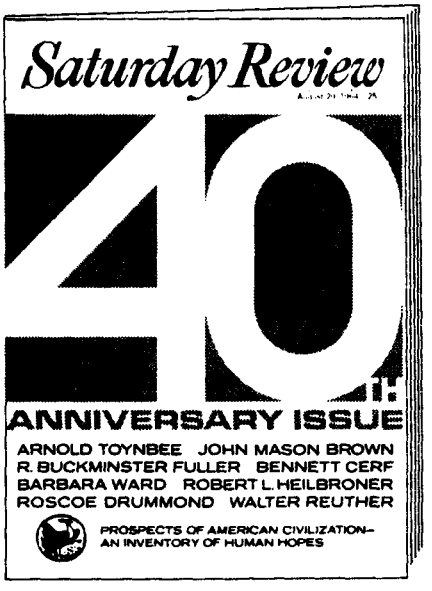

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T.R.B. from Washington

Looking Back

★ I am asked to write about the politics of what we hope will be a Great Society and it makes me reminiscent. I came to Washington in Harding's day and I think the unifying thread of what has happened since is the steady denunciation of expanding government, and the steady expansion of government, nevertheless. There is no doubt in my own mind that this expansion ought to go on, and will go on, and that opponents will go on screaming about it. Some of them will be sincere and believe that in a technical age you can have a token government; there is an amusing similarity between them and Marxists who believe that ultimately government will completely wither away. Many of those who ardently shouted "states' rights" over the half century of *The New Republic*, however, have had, I believe, an ulterior interest in preserving privilege or halting progress; they knew that state legislatures were more easily bought and sold than the federal government. Maybe it's unfortunate, but about the only counterweight the little man has to Big Business is Big Government; the record of the century is that business has grown big first, and that government has come limping along behind.

We are just emerging into an era where the use of the federal budget to balance the economy by taxes and spending is being accepted. (The rest of the world accepted it long ago.) The arrival of medicare cannot be postponed very long. The task of government almost certainly will grow. There has been a slippage of business prestige in the century. Reporters used to dash to Henry Ford, Bernard Baruch and J. P. Morgan to interview them on great events; now they are apt to go to some bespectacled college professor. This has created a raging inferiority complex in the Tycoon Set that is a factor of the times.

I think the above trends will continue. I guess, too, that the ethics and perhaps even the caliber of men in Congress will improve. A century ago, Washington was a malarial, boardinghouse capital, where Congressmen were corrupt and went armed. Daniel Webster asked for a freshening of his retainers (bribes) in the National Bank fight. Things have improved a lot since then, even though in 1964 one party nominated for Vice President a man who got $7,500 a year salary from a firm for whom he did legislative chores. Were people greatly shocked? They didn't show it.

American cities have improved; they are vastly better governed than they were when Bryce wrote about them. As for state governments it is hard to say; they have been downgraded by events though reapportionment may revitalize them.

The structure of the political parties is certainly changing. The hoopla of the quadrennial convention is gradually diminishing. I look on this, I confess, with a little regret. If we could work up the choreography a bit, we could send over a sample convention "ovation" to the next Ukrainian folk dance festival as an authentic example of indigenous American culture. It would be charming, and would improve international relations no end. Sooner or later our political parties must modernize their financing, structure and discipline. Judging by the situation the Republicans are in these days they may be first to make the improvement.

We complain about Congress, but it is making great changes, too. The filibuster is cracking; the farm bloc is only a shadow; the veterans' lobby is undercut by social security. Now comes the two-party system in the South and an inevitable increase in Negro voting. In time this should interrupt the absurd seniority system syndrome in Congressional committee chairmanships.

It is always a race between reform and disaster, of course, but I'm hopeful; as Senator Paul Douglas said the other day, "Worthy causes eventually gain acceptance even against very strong odds." He cited half a dozen of his own liberal victories. (The greatest reform of all, perhaps, would be to have more Douglases in Congress.)

Rise of the Presidency

★ More important than Congress, possibly, is what's happening to the Presidency. There has been a slow erosion of legislative power for half a century and corresponding growth of the executive. It's all the more extraordinary because Congress is essentially anti-Presidential. It comes from legislative abdication rather than executive usurpation; primarily, I think, because Congress won't put its own house in order. For whatever reasons, Presidential power steadily grows. It has reached a point where the job is top-heavy. Sooner or later – somehow or other – this reporter firmly believes that Presidential responsibilities must be delegated and diffused. Think of it – Wilson didn't use ghost writers, and pecked out speeches on his own typewriter (it was a Hammond and had interchangeable type, and he carried an extra Greek alphabet with

Continued on page 110

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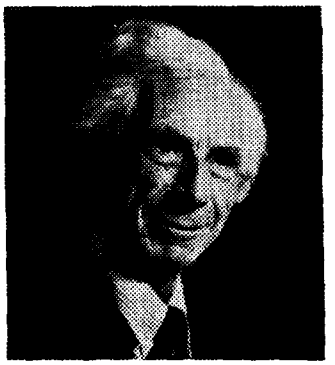
BERTRAND RUSSELL



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The New Republic After Half A Century

"The group of men who founded *The New Republic* in 1914," Herbert Croly wrote eight years later, "had a definite conception in their heads of the kind of periodical which they proposed to publish. We called it a journal of opinion." Not just any opinion, but opinion that affirms "the latent possibilities of human nature and a willingness to test all programs, demands, privileges, institutions and traditions by their ability to contribute to the unfolding of these possibilities."

It is to that experimental temper and those possibilities that we return on our 50th anniversary.

This past summer, at Boston University, Walter Lippmann spoke of the social neglects that have been accumulating because the United States "has been too distracted by the business of waging war and of preparing against the threat of war to pay attention to its own internal problems." (The cost, expressed in dollar terms alone, is $980,973,000,000 spent by the US in the past 25 years to fight or prepare for wars.) We have not, Mr. Lippmann pointed out, kept up with the needs of our growing urbanized population: "We have hardly begun to replan and redevelop our cities in the great metropolitan areas. We have not come anywhere near solving the problem of getting in and out of these metropolitan areas, or of moving about within them. We have not created the medical facilities these urbanized people need. Our school system has lagged so far behind our needs that about one-third of the men examined for the draft cannot pass the test. We are far behind the civilized countries of the world in providing our people with the civilizing amenities of social life. And, last but not least, we have been too distracted to put our minds resolutely on the redress of the grievances which are the just cause of the Negro protest."

But Mr. Lippmann discerned a promising change. It is that "the threat of great nuclear war which could devastate the whole Northern Hemisphere has become decidedly less than it was a few years ago," and that this danger "has receded enough so that we can begin again to plan our lives and our public affairs on the assumption that our civilization is going to survive." On that unproved but imperative assumption this symposium is predicted. If our hunch is wrong, if, for example, madness takes over in Russia, or if those anti-Communist militants for whom coexistence is wicked and deadly were to prevail in America, we would have to lay aside all plans for modernizing society. Our full-time job then would be to hold on to what we now have and to keep the world from smashing up.

In putting forth an agenda and prospects for the future, we of course have something more in mind than survival. We are counting on a rising market for quality; on the persistence of that creative dedication, disciplined by social responsibility, that is represented by the Peace Corps and the civil rights movement. The Great Society is the Good Society, where individuals are not as uniform as new coins; public servants are not fabricated from some stretchable synthetic; education, television, journalism are not the opiate of the masses; art is not the monopoly of museums; money is not the only mark of value. In brief, we are betting on a future, which, in John F. Kennedy's words, "will be safe not only for democracy and diversity, but also for personal distinction."

Anyone who chooses to be skeptical about these expectations can find historical support. The Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, the Know-Nothing Movement of the 1850's, the Klan of the 1920's, McCarthyism in the 1950's, the John Birch Society in the 1960's are grounds for skepticism. One hundred and twenty years ago, Fanny Kemble described Philadelphia as flaring with burning churches: "The Catholics are shot down in the streets and their houses pillaged in broad daylight. . . . People have been allowed to set fire to the property of Negroes and to murder them without anyone caring what happened to the person or property of 'damn Niggers'; the same turbulent spirit breaking out in other directions is less agreeable to the *respectable* portion of the community." This vindictive temper recurs in our history, and fades. Finally, it has always given way to a more generous and realistic view which sees every man as suspended between good and evil, and the world as a stage on which a single humanity is caught up in an inner conflict that is the same for all.

The latest American fad in small-mindedness calls itself "conservative." Like Gatsby, it looks for fulfillment to another time – "boats against the current,

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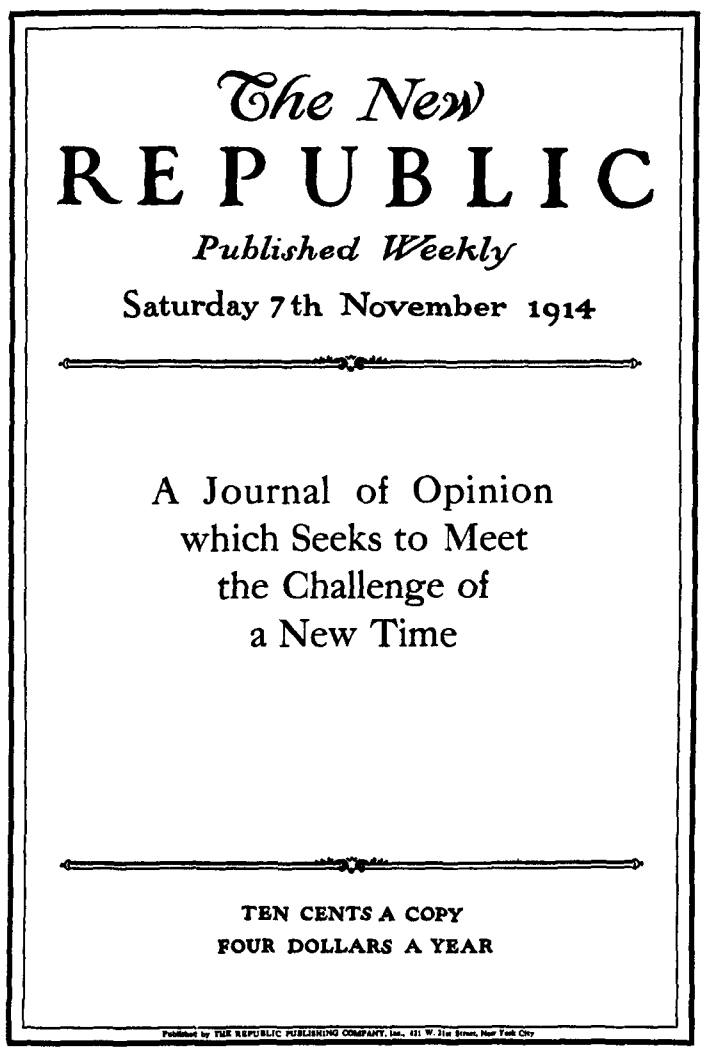
borne back ceaselessly into the past." Except for its more abrasive elements, this vogue is more romantic than vicious, more nostalgic than mean. Basically, it is a futile protest, because it demands the impossible – that we act as though the world were different than it is, and as though there were no limits to our power to change it. It is futile because however romantic the past may seem – and it was less idyllic than it seems in retrospect – we cannot live in another age. We cannot be "conservative" in this sense because intercontinental missiles with nuclear warheads have been invented, because American farmers depend on foreign markets to sell their frozen chickens, because technology is upsetting old work patterns, because communications have altered the original separateness of the states, because the white West is no longer the unchallenged master on every continent, because we now have the knowledge and resources needed to bridge the gulf between the very rich and very poor – in the United States and abroad.

Although, as TRB says in his Washington Report, "there is no glorious promise written in the skies of the New World that the US must survive," this journal is nonetheless fairly hopeful. And why not? The United States has come to grips with, though not wholly mastered, two massive internal challenges so far in the 20th Century: economic depression and racial conflict. We have likewise met and survived two formidable external challenges: fascism in the early 1940's, and now, in the 1960's, the Communist movement, which, having overcome a large part of the world (that part, however, in which liberalism had never become established) seems to be losing its momentum. Stalinism, which was the harshest and most absolute form the Communist movement took, has been discredited. Thought control and police rule are proving incompatible with an advanced technological society, such as the Soviet Union is becoming. New leaders, new generations, take over.

Lest this guarded optimism demoralize us, it should be recalled that the conditions on which it is based are the products of our own perception and courage. If we can now talk seriously about a Great Society, it is because we have boldly confronted earlier threats to the stability of the Republic. It is because we were willing to use federal power to create jobs and thus expand consumer demand; to redistribute income, build roads, preserve recreation areas, regulate monopolies, advance learning. It is because the weight of the nation has been put into the battle for equal rights and opportunities for Negroes. It is also because America helped its trans-Atlantic allies get back on their feet in the 40's, because we organized and supported a common defense, because we were firm in Korea and Berlin, because we have been willing to assist new nations in Africa and Asia to work their way out of dependence and deprivation.

On this page there is reproduced the cover of the first issue of *The New Republic*, carrying the words: "A Journal of Opinion Which Seeks to Meet the Challenge of a New Time." The following essays on *America Tomorrow* show that this journal's aim is the same. What has changed are the challenges themselves. The population explosion and rapid urbanization entail desperate adjustments. Millions of Americans are still without jobs; other millions may lose jobs as defense expenditures decline while technology races ahead. We are barely beginning, moreover, to grasp why it is so many men and women are bored by the work they do, and why it is that their leisure is so unrewarding. Abroad, the demands on our ingenuity and steadfastness are no less exacting. We face the incalculable danger of Chinese expansionism; in Africa, South Asia and Latin America, there is the ever-present threat of an anarchy that could communicate itself to the rest of the world. And overshadowing everything is The Bomb.

THE EDITORS



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Published Weekly
Saturday 7th November 1914

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The Community: Could This Be Our Town?

by Wolf Von Eckardt

The first residents are about to move into what promises to be one of the first modern communities in America worthy of the name. It is a comprehensively planned new town, named Reston, located 18 miles west of Washington, D.C., in a wooded Virginia hillside. By 1980, if plans work out, it should have 75,000 inhabitants, most of whom will not need to commute because they will have shopping, education, cultural inspiration and, most of all, their jobs practically within walking distance. Reston may well point a way toward arresting America's hideous urban sprawl that consumes our land at a rate of one million acres a day and that is hardly, as someone has put it, "a healthy soil for the growth of our civilization."

The countryside is uniquely beautiful and the first buildings already show equally unique architectural charm and excellence. But the bulldozers are still tearing into the red earth and the workmen are still clambering about the scaffolding and construction debris.

By next summer, however, Reston's first village – the plans call for seven such neighborhoods plus an urban town center – should be coming to life. Its artificial 35-acre lake, surrounded by lovingly arranged clusters of townhouses, should be filled with boats and swimmers. Already stocked with fish, its clear water will mirror the shops and community center of a bustling waterfront plaza and a handsomely sculptural 16-story apartment tower that heralds the town from afar.

People will walk to this village center through the woods and townhouse plazas on walkways and overpasses and underpasses that are dramatically lit at night and no automobiles will get into their way. The children will, of course, also walk safely to their new school, designed for the latest needs of modern education with the help of Ford Foundation experts. Cars have their own roads and are parked away discreetly so they don't clutter up the townscape.

Reston already has a champion golf course and architecturally intriguing club house, designed by Charles M. Goodman. By summer it will also have tennis courts, a riding stable, a boat marina, an art gallery, adult education courses, a youth center, numerous playgrounds with enchanting, modern equipment designed by sculptor Gonzales Fonseca, and probably a little children's zoo where the tots might try milking a cow.

By summer, too, developer Robert E. Simon, whose initials form the first syllable of the name of the town he launched almost singlehandedly, will know. He will know whether free enterprise can do better than build sleezy suburban subdivisions which, with their cute neo-Williamsburg or Cinderella "homes," all their kitchen gadgets, barbecue patios and useless front lawns, cater at best to fashionable market expectations of "gracious living," as though living consisted only of con-

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suming the products of manufacturers and television producers. He will know whether we can house our burgeoning population other than in "residential areas" as though residence were an activity in itself separate from exercising body and mind, from doing and experiencing things, from working, shopping, playing and spontaneous sociability.

And Mr. Simon and the rest of us will know whether the American consumer is actually willing and ready to live in real communities. If his thoughtful community planning helps us translate the high American standard of living into a higher standard of life, it is only because he feels he can sell homes and industrial sites better if he enhances them in a beautiful setting with civilized amenities and diversions close at hand. He believes the market ripe for, as his sales brochure puts it, "a self-respecting admixture of aloneness and togetherness." He is building Reston for profit.

But to reap profits you've got to seed investments. And that, one suspects, is still tougher than Simon cares to admit to an inquisitive journalist. The bankers and investors have misgivings about tightly clustered townhouses in the country where cars are parked as much as a hundred yards from the kitchen entrance. They doubt that Americans will care to live so close to shops that they might actually see them from their bedroom window even if they also have a splendid view over lake and trees and an architectural ensemble resembling a modern Portofino. And it remains to be proved that Americans will voluntarily rent the apartments Simon offers above his row of stores. He wants people and life on his village center plaza at night, even after the shops are closed.

The new town idea is, of course, nothing new. Ebenezer Howard, a London court stenographer, had originally inspired this cause at the turn of the century with his idea of emptying the slums of London and transplanting their wretched dwellers to self-contained "garden cities" of limited size surrounded by a greenbelt. The garden city movement, rallying around Sir Raymond Unwin's battle cry, "Nothing Gained by Overcrowding," offered many important solutions to the problems of housing people in an industrial society. The American branch of this movement, led by people like Lewis Mumford, Catherine Bauer Wurster and Clarence Stein, vigorously fought for "decent, safe and sanitary" housing and inspired the greenbelt towns of the Roosevelt days. But when, with the postwar housing boom and the rush to suburbia, its great opportunity came, the movement seemed spent. England, after decades of searching national debate, passed her New Towns Act in 1946 and there are now 18 new towns in Britain at various stages of completion. But what is left of the élan of America's old "housers" of the thirties has now moved from the barricades to bureaucracy.

What's in It for Me?

"The long hair boys have been of no help to me whatsoever," says Simon. "They are sympathetic, that's all. The ones within the government write letters with a lot of questions, the answers to which are already in their files."

Nor is Simon particularly sorry that, for lack of support from "housers" and the home-building industry alike, President Johnson's new town proposal failed, although the rest of his housing bill passed in remarkably good shape. Without advance notice, let alone national debate or political preparation, the President, last January, unexpectedly asked for federal funds to assist local governments to comprehensively plan and acquire land for "the orderly growth and development of new communities." The proposal didn't say "new towns," but that's what was meant. The new program was to be put under FHA, the most stodgy and private developer-minded of all the agencies. People within that agency spoke of the idea with little knowledge and less enthusiasm. Its builder-promoter friends reacted intensely against it. Their opposition was joined by the mayors – even the more liberal ones like James H. J. Tate of Philadelphia, John F. Collins of Boston, and Raymond R. Tucker of St. Louis speaking for the US Conference of Mayors. They fear, as Mayor John F. Collins of Boston put it, that the new towns "might make rebuilding of the central city more difficult." They are afraid that the new towns might compete for urban renewal funds and lure industry away from their realm. "It was a disgrace," said a Congressional aide who watched the proposal go under. "There is no longer a lobby for housing, for a decent home for every American. Even the liberals lobby only for their own little bits, their special pork barrels."

The opposition of the bankers, investors, builders and promoters is understandable. They have built suburbia at untold profits and are still spreading their subdivisions and housing projects all over the countryside at a frightening rate. Because of government mortgage insurance, the bankers and investors run practically no risk. The builders and promoters themselves invest little more than their judgment on where and what to put up. The "where" is easy – on the cheapest possible land near the most crowded metropolitan concentrations. It may not make sense to crowd them still further but the county governments are happy to welcome them and present them with the most essential sewers and local roads. Most county councils are dominated by people whose main cash crop is land. Once the land is built up, let the new residents worry about paying for the schools and other necessities as they speed ever-lengthening dis-

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tances to work and dream Thoreau dreams of rearing the kids in the bosom of Mother Nature – or a postage-stamp-size piece of it without sidewalks, playgrounds, trees.

The "what" is answered with clever packaging and public relations. Wrap a shoddily built house in a fashionable façade, stuff it with gadgets, put a gaslight or something in front for that extra bit of nostalgia, give it a romantic name and you'll have the suckers beating a path to the sales office. What the customers are primarily looking for is a good "housing buy," a nice home of their own. If they have three kids they'd like to have four bedrooms and no traffic jam in the bathroom. Try and pay for that in the city, nowadays. Even the rent for a small apartment is apt to be twice as expensive as the monthly mortgage payment on a subdivision house. So the builder-promoters sell them that shelter, gift wrapped with that gas lamp or rickety carport, sell it hard and fast and get out.

Only a few insurance and other large companies have themselves built and assumed a continuing responsibility for the housing developments they invested in. But lately they've shied away from this. The kind of building that they can invest their prestige in is becoming increasingly expensive. The new requirements for racial integration might make them unpopular. As one corporation bigwig told Albert Mayer, an architect-planner, big companies prefer to hide behind the builder-promoters as they prefer not to have "high visibility."

Eggheads in Suburbia

The system substantially aided by government programs like FHA, which makes sure that the pipes won't burst and the mortgage money keeps flowing, has thus pretty well met the middle-income housing shortage right after World War II. The home-building industry feels that it has earned the nation's gratitude. And the system still works. What slack the egghead disenchantment with suburbia might have created is taken up by urban renewal's new bonanzas downtown.

And is the egghead disenchantment with suburbia really justified?

No – if we're talking in terms of a verdant environment *versus* asphalted city blocks.

Yes – if we look at subdivision suburbia today which, to the extent that it is planned at all, is planned for buildings, land use and zones but not for people.

To the suburbanite who has just tired himself out manicuring his front lawn and is getting ready for the three-mile drive to the bowling alley, some erudite magazine article deploring the ugly monotony and Miltown boredom of his environment reads like sheer poppycock. His wife might deplore the hours she must spend driving to a monopolistic supermarket and the kids to their lessons and birthday parties, but that is a price she gladly pays for a better and newer school than the city offers. And since, when her exhausting chores are done, she prefers to do nothing in particular, it doesn't occur to her that looking at people from a nice bench on a nice urban plaza, boats on a nearby waterfront, gushing water in the fountains of a gala shopping mall, or exhibits in an art gallery, makes doing nothing in particular a lot more fun. After all, most likely she hasn't heard of, let alone seen, the town centers of Farsta, near Stockholm, or Tapiola, near Helsinki which have this kind of thing within easy walking of every home.

Sociologists and psychologists say they simply don't know much about the effect of environment on the human species. Herbert J. Gans, of Columbia University, says the talk about a suburban pathology is simply a myth. What problems exist, he says, are those people brought along with them when they moved out. "Most of the effects described by the myth of suburbia either can be traced to factors other than the move to suburbia, or do not take place at all," he has written. Developer James Rouse, who is now building a new town somewhat similar to Reston between Washington, D. C., and Baltimore, and who has given the problems of community building considerable thought, has a more convincing answer. "There is absolutely no dialogue in the US today," he has been quoted as saying, "between the people who have developed knowledge about people – the teachers, the ministers, psychiatrists, sociologists – and the people who are designing and building cities."

Fractured Communities

But much is evident, whether it has been researched or not. Restlessness in suburbia, not as drastic as in the city ghettos, to be sure, but restlessness nevertheless, is a fact. For instance, Montgomery County, Maryland, at the edge of the nation's capital, is a nice place to live and far from the worst of postwar suburbia; on the average it is the wealthiest and best-educated county in the nation; it used to have one of the best school systems. Yet, there is, even amidst this rather homogeneous community of doctors, lawyers, scientists and high level government experts, rampant juvenile delinquency, which everyone used to think was a disease of poverty. Kids from good homes with all the "privilege" our society can offer smash windows, throw home-made bombs into libraries, race about in stolen cars and crash parties. A frightening number of their parents crowd the waiting lists of the psychiatrists and the county's woefully inadequate psychiatric clinic. Perhaps we would have the same problems in the city, as Mr. Gans argues. But non-planned subdivision suburbia doesn't ameliorate them.

In the 1962 election, Montgomery County rebelled against non-planned subdivision suburbia,

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or rather the effects of it. Its good citizens were fed up with steadily rising local taxes to pay for catching up with services, notably school buildings, that sound planning should have built right with the first houses. So they elected the subdividers, builder-promoters and their rabble-rousing friends to their county council. The new council is merrily and noisily wrecking the good school system, cutting down on school construction and other already insufficient services and deliberately castrating what little planning there was.

It's happening all over suburban America with the subdividers fanning the rebellions and, with the powerful help of the real estate boards, the mortgage bankers, the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce, fighting any restraints on their lucrative operations.

But despite all this Bob Simon is optimistic. He has managed to get interim financing for the exciting beginning of Reston that is now evident in his Virginia woods. He's got 6,750 acres of them, the site for his entire town. His superb master plan and architectural designs have electrified planners and architects all over the world. The construction of that first village is assured. All of Reston's currently available lots for individuals and builders who want to erect their own detached houses are already sold. The design and appearance of these houses is carefully controlled by Reston's architectural board. Although he only just started advertising them, Simon has already sold a number of the clustered townhouses ranging from $23,000 to $46,400.

And, most importantly perhaps, there is already assurance that Reston will not be another dormitory community. Six industrial enterprises have, as of this writing, already contracted to locate in Reston's industrial park which comprises 14 percent of the town's total area. A federal government agency may follow soon. A building that provides a pool of meeting rooms, cafeteria and a printing facility for the industrial park is being built.

No one could possibly in this country tamper with free enterprise in the building or any other industry even if he were idiotic enough to want to do so. Large-scale government housing projects are apt to be deadly, as our public housing has shown. And even the much touted, socialistically built new Swedish communities near Stockholm, though a vast improvement over run-of-the-mill American subdivisions and well planned, have not been able to overcome an institutional tedium.

A Civilized Environment

We must decently house the poor and we must come to regard housing, like public transportation, as an essential public utility. But the quality and quantity of housing, it would seem, is better served if government helps stage the act rather than get into it. One wonders, for instance, whether, instead of issuing detailed and often irritating regulations about electrical outlets and joints, the government could not be more helpful to the cause if it helped the building industry to modernize and rationalize. We build so poorly because building is so expensive. And we build expensively because, as Albert Mayer has written, "the matter of actual inherent building costs has never yet been squarely faced in this country. The combination of the characteristically small-volume builder, the immobile craft unions, the short work-year and the attempt to compensate for it by constantly rising hourly wages and continuing policy of lessening productivity all contribute to the constantly rising curve." Low income people are priced out of the market and even upper-middle-income housing developments lack a sense of quality and essential amenities and community facilities.

New towns far out from the city are not the only answer. But we can no longer afford to build just housing. We must build communities or transform existing "projects" into communities. Communities worthy of the name are first of all a matter of comprehensive design – not of social policy alone, or economics alone, planning alone or architecture alone, but a vigorously creative combination of all of this. The primary need of the Great Society is not just to build new towns but to build an environment in which a civilization can grow.

The new community, as we are beginning to visualize it, offers a solution to many of the most pressing problems in our environment in happy, interacting combination. In answer to urban sprawl and the shortage of land – not in the country at large but in easily accessible and desirable places – it offers concentration. It meets the perils of the automobile by giving people on foot their own value. It brings us spontaneously together, for we were wrong, some years ago, when we ridiculed "togetherness." We need it. The potential for rubbing elbows, for chance encounters, for human intercourse on the agora at work and at leisure, has always been the essence of cities and civilization. The new community is limited in size so that both the agora and the commons, the communal green space for sunshine and natural recreation, can be walked to by all who share them. It thus gives people the sense of identity, of sharing that is lacking in the anonymous vastness of our cities and suburbs.

"Facilities" is an awful word. But nomenclature aside, we desperately need meeting places for all sorts of gatherings, music, theatrical performance and other things for people to do, not vicariously but actively. We need them – most urgently for teenagers and especially in the suburbs. In Tapiola, near Helsinki, the kids have been given workshops, free of charge, to tinker

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with racing cars and hot-rods, build model airplanes and paint posters. At Coventry the new town center includes a teenage dance hall and bowling alley. Reston will have a teenage center, but the new town's educational consultant, Jane Gilmer Wilhelm, is too smart to call it that. She'll stick some chairs into the place and let the youngsters themselves decide what to call and what to make of it. Elsewhere in America we are finally beginning to recognize that school and Sunday school buildings need not be closed to the taxpayers and congregations after the children have gone home. They can be designed to serve both education and community needs.

And, lastly but importantly, the challenge of building such communities rather than a mere agglomeration of houses, gives a new impetus for a new architecture of drama, function and beauty, an architecture that expresses the urbanity of collective – not collectivized life.

Such community architecture can never be stereotyped or dull because to be true to itself it must be lovingly designed for the people who will live in it and the land on which they live. Neither people nor land are ever alike if you take the trouble to look closely. And if you do look, you'll never build split-level houses, meant to be cut into a hillside, on a flat desert; or a Cape Cod house, meant for 18th Century fishermen, for 20th Century office workers in Winnetka. Building for specific people and a specific terrain will evoke an idea and that idea serves as the community focus, a clearly visible feature or structure by which you can orient yourself as you can by the Eiffel Tower in Paris.

At Reston's first village this focal point is the apartment tower. The tower declares: here people live amidst trees and by lake with urban comforts of elevators and air conditioning. In the new Coventry the focal point is the rebuilt cathedral. In Wolfsburg, Germany, an extremely thoughtfully designed new town, there are two such points: the Ratshaus and the dramatically handsome Volkswagen factory. But it could be a river or a shopping center or a school or a towering clump of trees or the old buildings of an already existing small town or village.

Uses of Open Space

In both the city and the country this new concept of community must overcome the notion which has obsessed us ever since we became aware of the first crowded slums of the industrial revolution. That notion is that the price of human happiness is low density; the fewer people on an acre of land, Sir Raymond Unwin ordained, the greater their dignity and well-being. This is nonsense. The notion has not only subdivided us out of much open country near the city that the automobile might have brought into reach of nearly everyone for walking, picnicking, playing, hunting and fishing. It has also torn our cities apart because to keep densities low we have placed large open spaces between apartment buildings. And most of these spaces are dead. More often than not there is nothing but mangy grass surrounded by a six-foot Cyclone fence adorned by a sign: "Keep off."

Open space, open space as a sacred abstraction without relation to human needs or pleasures, is the corollary to the low density obsession. Its purpose, of course, is to bring us sun, fresh air and greenery. But this can be done without making vast, useless barriers between people. The large untended and untraversed meadows throughout Harlow, one of the British new towns, destroy any sense of town and community. It takes a good, healthy hike past these open spaces to get from one of the more remote houses to the town center. A mother cannot push her perambulator there for her shopping. She must take a bus or her car and arrange for a babysitter, and that offsets a good many of the advantages living in Harlow is supposed to have over living in London.

At Tapiola, without doubt the most ingeniously planned and most attractive new town to date, there are no such open spaces, unless you count the inlet of the gulf which extends deeply into this community. Though actually built tightly – with a rather high density of 26 to 30 people to the acre – the town seems open and green, with clusters of tall apartment buildings and row houses growing like mushrooms amidst gullies, trees and rocks. Tapiola was planned in terms of "perambulator distances." The high rise apartments are spaced apart for air, sunshine and beautiful views but the space between them has beautifully landscaped one and two story houses on it. At Reston the open space between the densely clustered townhouses is also distributed throughout the "village" and used for plazas, playgrounds, the lake, the golf course and other human uses.

The idea of the "cluster development" is lately coming into vogue in the suburbs and it is particularly well argued in a recent book of that title by William H. Whyte, former assistant managing editor of *Fortune* magazine, and published by the American Conservation Association. Whyte is confident that Americans don't mind living closely together and doing without private yards in exchange for communal open space with recreation facilities or landscaped streams, valleys and brooks in the center. He makes an excellent case for the reexamination of the whole open space concept which most American planners still demand. Our federal government, in fact, offers municipalities up to 30 percent of the expense if they'll only purchase open space to save it from urban encroachment. But the program isn't catching on too well. What do we do with the space beyond giving it vague labels on the map, such as "land reserve" and "natural resource area"? We must open them up for the enjoyment of

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people. And in some instances Whyte points out, a 300-foot-wide strip of woodland is enough to give our surroundings a pastoral air. The Taconic Parkway, running north from New York, for instance, seems to take you through open country. It doesn't. But a handsomely landscaped, narrow strip along both sides gives you that illusion.

But "cluster development," which as Whyte points out has many economic advantages for the builder-entrepreneur, holds in itself no magic formula any more than screens of trees replace the need for unspoilt countryside, not *within* as in Harlow, but beyond the city. The point is to evolve a community architecture that permits us both togetherness and privacy. And the challenge is to create lively communities that satisfy people rather than conventional planning wisdom. This, not a Rockefeller Center for every American city, must be the prime goal of urban renewal.

The efforts of Albert Mayer to "rejuvenate" our existing dreary housing projects are one important contribution. The outdoor space he redesigned at two New York public-housing projects – East Harlem Plaza and Franklin Plaza – offers residents a "gala community and mixing area" and areas for active play and relaxation. To relate St. Louis' Pruitt-Igoe development to surrounding neighborhoods, Mayer proposes a major lighting and axial system and center plaza, along with an "Everybody's Club," shopping plaza and ice-cream parlor. We might even go further, as the Lavanburg Foundation has suggested, with the sparkling design schemes of Charles M. Goodman and put up clusters of inexpensive, prefabricated kiosks for shops and handicrafts and all manner of public uses where there are now only dead spaces with their fenced-in lawns.

Another welcome straw in the wind is the recommendation of the New York Citizens' Housing and Planning Council to Mayor Wagner to organize his city into community districts. Each of these communities would have an appointed board that would take care of both local planning and local administration, leaving to distant city hall only those functions that make central authority essential. The Council argues that a feeling of community requires that the community itself look after its welfare and orderly development. "A playground site and equipment," it says, "bear on the welfare and development of a district, but so also do police protection and health services [and the] chain interactions of housing, schooling, youth programs and recreation facilities on dropouts and youth employment."

Eventually, the Council hopes, each community would develop its own civic center – complete with health and welfare facilities, a police station, a library, a courthouse, a high school with an auditorium and gymnasium open to adults after school hours, and the office and meeting place of the community board; in brief, "a visual symbol of the community's identity."

Will Mayor Wagner even read, let alone heed such suggestions when his peers trek to Washington to defeat the new town proposal? Their testimony epitomizes the narrow, selfish view of our proliferating municipal governments, large and small, which keep frustrating the only way out of our urban mess: comprehensive regional planning. The costly local governments with their arbitrary political boundaries seldom represent communities, not to speak of a logical community of interest, but divide it.

Megalopolis, with its intensive concentration of business and culture, has its tremendous blessings. What would we do without New York or even Los Angeles? The evils of land, water and air pollution, traffic congestion and desperate anonymity, are not inevitable. The Dutch, living more densely together than any other people in the world, have outwitted the horrors of conurbation with their Randstad plan that comprises Amsterdam, Haarlem and Rotterdam. The British have come up with a plan for the orderly development of the entire Southeast region of their island. Even along the crowded Northeastern seaboard of the United States there is, as the French geographer Jean Gottmann has proved, still space and opportunity for orderly cities and livable communities. The trend, to be sure, is to the contrary. But trend need not be our destiny. We don't have to go on spending billions to cure what previous billions did wrong.

Bob Simon can build a beautiful and livable Reston for a few in the Virginia woods. But to bring beauty and livability to any significant number across this vast land requires a cooperative, concerted attack on the whole, complex urban ecology – the planning of highways and railways, the location of industry and park lands, the preservation

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of natural beauty and worthy old buildings, water management, housing and a host of other things. Most of all, it requires tearing down the shameful walls of our urban ghettos and intermingling our population in the city, suburbs and satellite towns in racially, socially, economically and culturally mixed communities.

Simon doesn't like it when you call Reston a "country club community," but, initially, that's what it is. It will be a sophisticated but homogeneous middle-income town. A private entrepreneur cannot afford to build houses and apartments for people with low incomes. And even if he could, he fears that the well-to-do do not want to live next to them. American democracy still stops at the residential zoning boundary. No private investor is voluntarily going to risk his money on mixing not only skin colors but income groups.

Simon agrees that it is silly to plan a town which saves the junior executives the trouble of commuting long distances only to force it on their maids, baby sitters, gardeners, store clerks and lower echelon workers. And he would surely agree this is not just a matter of romantic idealism. Mixing rich and poor holds new and largely unthought of advantages for the American middle class. Wouldn't it be nice to have women in the neighborhood who'll be glad to iron your shirts and men who won't be above sweeping out the garage? If growing numbers of unskilled people are unemployable because of automation, why don't we offer them work sprucing up and maintaining our streets and public places and make them *their* streets and public places as well. Sure, we run the risk that a few of them might throw empty whisky bottles into our front yards. On the other hand, they'll learn about garbage disposal and deportment much faster from their neighbors than from Sargent Shriver's domestic peace corps. Subsidized housing will be no threat to middle-income property values if it is scattered, attractive and well maintained. And if all this sounds condescending toward the poor, it is far less so than present programs of "human renewal."

A Joy to Behold

At Tapiola in Finland, which is a private though non-profit enterprise, rich and poor live side by side, although you would never know it because the subsidized low-income rowhouses are as attractively designed as the luxury apartment buildings. The rebuilt Coventry, though an industrial city, has achieved sophisticated bustle and handsome architectural harmony in its new downtown center. So has Rotterdam with its enchanting flower arrangements and modern statues, largely donated by private business firms. We are rediscovering the great art of city planning that has been lost in these past, hectic decades of population explosion and technological upheaval. Tapiola, Coventry, Rotterdam and a few other places prove that we can, if we want to, still master urban chaos.

One of the arguments against making the effort is that we in America cannot tell people how to live. But don't we tell them and force them to live in the misery of non-planning? To be sure, no one can prove that this misery is really widely felt, that what has been described as "God's own junkyard" is at the root of our malaise. And no one knows whether Tapiola will breed more gracious citizens. "In the end," say the psychologist-lawyer team Edna G. and Eugene V. Rostow, "we press for the city beautiful not because we really believe it will be the City of God, or Mumford's City of Love, or the City of Mental Health, but because we can't help doing so. We try to make cities express our ideas of beauty for the same reasons that lead us to make gardens: because it is fun to try and because such cities are a joy to behold."

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Environment: Land, Air, Water

by Roger Revelle

Thomas Jefferson believed that with the right encouragement the United States could grow into a country of yeomen living on small farms, spread more or less evenly across the fertile continent. In his vision, small landholders were "the chosen people of God . . . whose breasts he has made his peculiar deposit for substantial and genuine virtue." The hazards of wishful prophecy have seldom been so clearly illustrated.

During Jefferson's long lifetime, the number and distribution of yeomen seemed to be increasing in a satisfactory way. De Tocqueville found it "difficult to describe the avidity" with which the American settlers pushed the Indians out of the way and seized new lands . . . "a civilized people who are also [it must be owned] the most grasping nation on the globe."

Though Jefferson and his contemporaries were political revolutionaries, they did not foresee the industrial and agricultural revolutions that would thwart their agrarian vision, and would lead instead to one of the greatest concentrations of city dwellers ever seen. When the United States began, most farmers were barely able to feed themselves and their families. Today, the average American farm worker grows enough to feed 30 people beside himself, and he does this on less land than his father used. The cropped area of the US reached a maximum in 1930 of 413 million acres, about 22 percent of our total land outside of Alaska. It has never since been as large, and will probably continue to diminish, at least for the next 50 years. By 1960, the number of farmers was hardly greater than in Jefferson's time, and it was falling fast. Within the following two years, from 1960 to 1962, it decreased nine percent. One of the reasons for these decreases was our growing ability to maintain and protect the land.

The conservation of forests, soils and wildlife gained much impetus during the 1930's. Among all the woes of the Great Depression, perhaps the most horrifying were the black and choking dust storms that blew away the soil and the livelihood of hundreds of thousands of farmers in the Great Plains. The rough plows that broke the plains after World War I became a byword for the ignorant wastefulness with which America was destroying its own resources. The New Dealers channeled this emotional revulsion into far-seeing conservation programs. Today, after 30 years, most of our agricultural lands are effectively protected against water and wind erosion, and are more fertile than ever before. Hence we need fewer of them. The other side of farm diminution is the growth of city populations and city land areas. When Thomas Jefferson was an old man, about 10 percent of our people lived in cities and towns; today, about 70 percent. In the first census of the United States, in 1790, there were only 24 places with more than 2,500 people; by 1960, there were about 5,000. In 1790, two cities –

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New York and Philadelphia – had populations over 25,000. By 1960, there were 500 such cities, 27 of them with populations larger than ancient Rome.

Urbanization of America

Now, large cities in large numbers are a completely new experience for human beings – a radical change in the physical environment and a new way of life. By the year 2000, the urban population of the United States will be around 270 million people, more than twice that in 1960. Four out of five Americans will be city and town dwellers. They will occupy a relatively small land area, only a little over two percent of the total in the United States outside of Alaska. Even if we count the land used for the railroads, highways and airports that supply and transport the city dwellers, the strip-mining lands that furnish their coal, and the areas occupied by their reservoirs and water works, we are dealing with less than 100 million acres – about five percent of the area of the United States.

At the end of this century, American cities will still be very unevenly distributed over the country. Half our population will live in 12 states which together contain only slightly more than a tenth of our national land area. A good part of the nation will be relatively empty; only one out of ten Americans will live in the 19 states (not counting Alaska) that contain half our total land. The US in 1850 had a larger population (and a smaller land area) than these thinly populated states in 1960.

Though the lands within cities and their surrounding metropolitan areas are small compared to our vast country, they are large on an absolute scale – nearly 20 million acres today, and probably over 40 million in the year 2000 – and very large indeed on a human scale, for most of the problems of cities can be framed in terms of our use and abuse of land. Urban blight, decay, and sprawl, the rings of segregated slums that separate the central cities from the suburbs, the desecration of the countryside, the waste of time and life in metropolitan traffic, the pollution of air and water, the failures of public services, and the poverty of public schools, all reflect the reckless and shortsighted ways in which we have let our cities spread across the land.

One of the problems of American cities has long been the existence of much vacant or semi-vacant land, especially just outside the downtown sections. This land is usually in small lots, but it may make up a third to a half of the city area. The unbuilt lots are often too small, or too ill-shaped, for modern development, which in any case is made almost impossible by the clouding and dispersal of titles through debt accumulations and tax delinquencies. These lots gradually become simply dumps for neighborhood trash and night-time dangers for pedestrians.

In today's sprawling "slurbs," this problem of unused but "withdrawn" metropolitan land exists on a far larger scale. The countryside is scarred with feckless subdivisions that have gone broke after a few cheap houses were built and are nearly impossible to reclaim. Even worse, the hit-or-miss pattern of speculative development leaves uglified strips between subdivisions. These soon become lined with billboards and other abominations, but they are otherwise an almost permanent wasteland.

In Paris, Rome, Florence and Cologne, rivers are central to the beauty and structure of the city. In Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Chicago, river banks are lined with factories or freeways. Only now are our city planners and developers beginning to use the rivers that flow through our cities to enhance their beauty and livability. In Chicago, for example, the Chicago River, which used to be thought of chiefly as an open sewer, is beginning to be a thing of beauty and enjoyment in the midst of the city.

One of Stewart Udall's most satisfying accomplishments (and he has certainly been one of the best Secretaries of the Interior in the past hundred years) has been his successful struggle to preserve the beauty of the Potomac River against the encroachments of high-rise apartment builders. This was done by an ingenious invention, the condemnation of a "scenic easement" for the public domain against a group of real estate developers who had managed to get the zoning changed on a 45-acre estate near the river bank.

Megalopolis

The real architects of modern American cities are the road engineers, though it does not appear they are conscious of their role. Quite evidently they believe they are meeting the needs of existing auto and truck traffic by building super highways between cities. In fact, they are probably creating more traffic and more congestion than they are relieving by encouraging urban growth in long strips parallel to the giant new roads. As these areas stretch outward from the central cities, they will eventually coalesce in the megalopolises of the future – the continuous strip cities like Philip Hauser's "Atlanticopolis," extending from Boston to Richmond through the old urban ganglia of Providence, New York, New Jersey, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington; and his "Lake Michiganopolis," from Milwaukee through Chicago to South Bend, and southward through Peoria to St. Louis. In these enormous urban complexes, the problems of water, air and food supply, of removal of waste and avoidance of pollution, of transport and communications, above all of maintaining human life on a human scale, will all be of a magnitude never faced before in the

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history of cities. It is obvious also that the archaic governmental structures of our metropolitan areas compound the difficulties of meeting these new problems. In the 160 Standard Metropolitan Areas identified by the Census Bureau in 1950, there were 16,000 governmental units with power to tax and to spend. Some larger areas had 1,000 such multiple and overlapping jurisdictions. The boundaries of the new megalopolises will cut across all existing legal fences, including state boundaries. To meet their needs for municipal and industrial water supplies, rational and frugal development of entire river basins will be mandatory; to restrain air and water pollution, control measures will be needed over regions determined by meteorological and hydrologic realities, rather than by legal fictions. Unless new governmental inventions can be made, strong federal intervention and direct relations, bypassing the states, between federal and municipal governments would seem essential.

The new problems of the giant future cities are frightening to contemplate, but the most severe urban problem of today is not new. It is an old problem that has disgraced American cities for a hundred years: the problem of the slums. Blight, poverty, over-crowding, maintenance and renewal are all aspects of this old problem. It has been deepened in urgency by the great Negro migrations from the rural South to the rings of misery around our central cities. Weapons of many kinds are needed to attack this problem, but among them are some possible legal devices related to land use: changes in income tax laws to compel use of depreciation allowances for building maintenance; changes in property assessment procedures so as not to reward landlords who let their property decay; requirements of compliance with building codes as a condition of sale; refusal to base prices for public acquisition on incomes from illegal use; municipal use of rents to remedy building violations.

Cities are an acquired taste, like beer. They don't come with our genes, for we are children of the earth. Our heredity was forged on the green and brown anvil of its surface; our minds and hearts evolved on the grassy plains and in the dark forests. Though we are incredibly adaptable, we thrive best when we can find some relief from the crowded stress of cities, and some chance to renew ourselves in the natural world of mountains and forests, lakes, streams and the sea. This need for relief and renewal expresses itself in the many forms of outdoor recreation.

Getting Away from It All

By 2000, there will be nearly twice as many Americans as in 1960. Average personal incomes will have doubled, while the average working week will have declined to around 28 hours, instead of the present 40. Some people will work less hours per day, others fewer days per week, and almost everyone will have a paid vacation. From an average of one week per year, vacations will lengthen to four weeks or more. The average person will travel about twice as many miles each year; perhaps half this travel, about 5,000 miles, will be in search of recreation.

These changes will combine to produce an enormous increase in the use of outdoor recreation facilities. The effects will probably be almost multiplicative – twice as many people, times twice as much income per person, times twice as much travel, times a fourfold lengthening of vacations. It has been estimated that the number of visits to municipal playgrounds, parks, zoos and golf courses, will increase by 400 percent. Day-long and weekend visits to state parks and other nearby recreational areas could go up about 15 times, while vacation trips to more distant mountains, lakes, beaches, National Parks and National Forests, could increase at least tenfold.

If these estimates are to be realized, the area of land dedicated to outdoor recreation must be greatly expanded during the next few decades, from roughly 50 million acres at present to 125-150 million by the end of the century. The need is especially great for additional state parks, lakes (which can also be reservoirs), beaches, and other recreation areas reasonably close to the cities. These now total about 10 million acres; they should contain at least 70 million. The area in city and county parks should grow from less than one million to more than five million acres. This is greater than the projected growth in use, because outdoor public places in cities are now grossly inadequate – only about 300 square feet per person.

If suitable accommodations were available in National Parks, Forests, and Wildlife Refuges, the annual number of visitor days could go from about 120 million in the late 1950's to more than a billion by the end of the century. Outside of Alaska, the present area of federal recreational preserves is somewhat over 40 million acres. Thus, if these preserves are not extended, the number of visitor days per acre in the year 2000 would be about 25 – a very large number for a National Park. Such a concentration of people would at the very least change the character of our National Parks, and it would probably destroy some of their most cherished values. In principle, the federal lands dedicated to recreational and related uses should be greatly expanded. But many of the outstanding park sites are already in the federal system and the contained area is relatively large. It would probably be unfeasible to increase it by more than a factor or two.

In addition to expanding the area of federal recreation lands, therefore, we need to find new patterns

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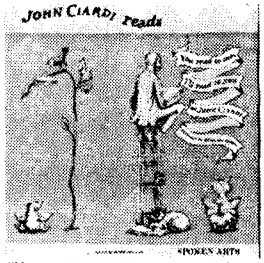
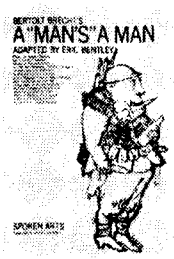
Close your eyes.

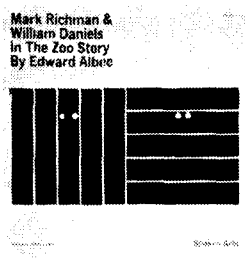
And you're dimming the house lights for some great scenes.



"You read to me, I'll read to you" by John Ciardi. Read by John Ciardi. 835.

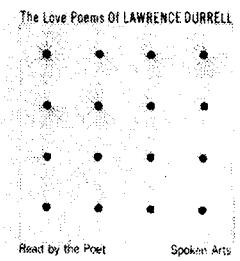


Bertold Brecht's A "MAN'S" A MAN adapted by Eric Bentley. 870.

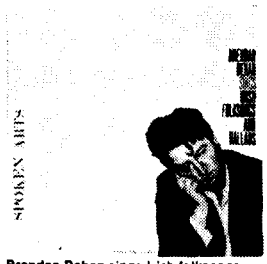


Mark Richman and William Daniels in The Zoo Story. By Edward Albee. 806.

Lolita. And poems. Read by Vladimir Nabokov. 902.

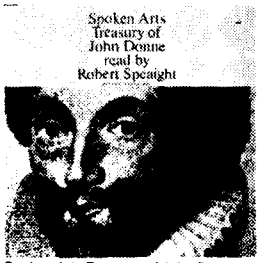


The Love Poems of Lawrence Durrell. Read by the poet. 818.

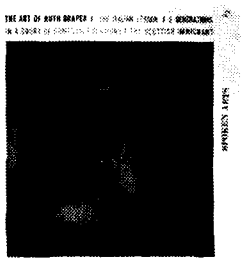


Brendan Behan sings Irish folksongs and ballads. 760.

Irish ballads, folksongs and lyrics read by Siobhan McKenna. 707.



Spoken Arts Treasury of John Donne read by Robert Speaight. 859.



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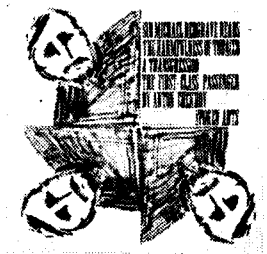

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"The Loves of Charles II" written and performed by Cornelia Otis Skinner. 813.

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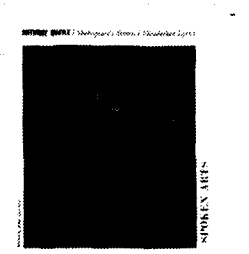

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of use that will allow the number of visitors to be greatly increased without serious damage. One step is to diversify the environments and the uses. Some areas can be kept inviolate, except to a lonely few who are willing to work hard for solitude. These are the "wilderness" or "roadless" regions, where John Muir found "a good practical sort of immortality." Elsewhere, we must preserve secluded spots where visitors will be able to find those "frogs in springly places, elysian springs and aromatic groves" that delighted the naturalist, William Bartram, in the morning of America. Other areas can be toughened with wear-resistant paths and with various guidance devices to manage fair-sized crowds. A desperate but perhaps necessary step would be to ration visits among applicants, and to stagger visiting times; but the broadening of the base of national recreation lands through development of National Seashores, Riverways, Wildlife Refuges, "Wild Rivers," Undersea Parks, and other special environments is more hopeful.

Conserving Recreation Areas

During the last 150 years, numerous pressures have acted to transfer public lands into private hands. In the foreseeable future, a strong reverse pressure will build up to purchase private lands for public use as outdoor recreation areas. Over the next 35 years, investments of many tens of billions of dollars will be needed for this purpose, and for construction of required facilities. These investments will have to be shared among cities and counties, states and the federal government. A promising beginning has been made in the Land and Water Conservation Fund, established by the 88th Congress. Entrance and user fees on federal recreation areas, excise taxes on motor boat fuels, and returns from sales of surplus real property will be used in matching grants to the states to aid them in acquiring and developing outdoor recreation areas.

The continuing needs for conservation were almost forgotten during World War II and the early years of the Cold War. Immediate exigencies of national security were so pressing, and required so much of our national attention, that the long-range problems of land and water and air had to wait. In the continental United States, no National Parks were created for 17 years – from the Everglades during the Truman Administration to the new Canyonlands in 1964. We have a lot of catching up to do, if foreseeable needs for outdoor recreation are to be even partially met during the remainder of this century.

There is a special set of problems related to the recreational uses of the seashore. Here we are dealing not with a two-dimensional area but with an essentially one-dimensional boundary zone between the land and the sea. Nearly half of all Americans live within a hundred miles of the ocean, and this proportion will probably increase in future decades. By the end of the century, some 150 to 200 million people may be struggling for places on the beaches and in the narrow coastal waters. With our present length of shoreline, this would mean about two people per foot, even if the entire coastal strip were a public beach. Actually only a fraction of the shoreline is available for public recreation, which must compete with factories, power plants, shipping and military uses; long stretches are too polluted to be safe for swimming or water sports; and much of the shoreline is privately held. What is needed and what can be done is to stretch the shore by building bars, offshore islands and sand spits, and by developing bays, waterways and estuaries. As in so many other fields, the city of Chicago has taken an imaginative lead. Its plans for the future include the building of curving peninsulas to increase the length of public beaches and boating areas along its Lake Michigan shoreline. San Francisco Bay presents a less hopeful example. There are so many conflicting juridictions that coordinated planning is almost impossible. Instead of developing its beauty and recreational potential by carefully designed dredging and filling, much of the Bay shore has been made virtually useless for other purposes by lining it with freeways and industrial wastelands. Many of the small municipalities along the shore have plans to fill in adjacent shallow parts of the Bay, simply because this is the cheapest way to make new industrial land.

Limited Raw Materials

What about natural resources other than land? Will these be sufficient, in the year 2000, to provide raw materials for the Gross National Product of more than $2,000 billion that will be required if average personal incomes and the number of Americans are both to double in the next 35 years? We will need two or three times more iron ore and copper than we are now using, six times as much bauxite (aluminum ore), about three times as much oil and natural gas, and twice as much coal, water and wood products. Of all these materials, only wood is liable to be critically short. Though our commercial forest area is already somewhat larger than the area of cropped farmland, it would have to be doubled to meet the anticipated needs. Such an increase is virtually impossible. We shall have to look, instead, for substitute materials and increased imports.

Higher imports would probably be the most economical short-term way to meet most of the increase in requirements for iron, manganese, bauxite, lead and zinc. Over the long run an alternative solution should come from advancing technology, which is making it possible to use

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lower and lower grade ore for many metals. We can look forward to the day – some time after the beginning of the new century – when ordinary rock will be mined.

United States reserves of coal are more than adequate for any likely increase in production over the next 50 years. The sufficiency of oil and gas reserves within this country is much less certain, even with anticipated improvements in recovery technology. But overseas oil is abundant compared to foreseeable US and world needs, and Colorado oil shales and Athabaska tar sands could by themselves meet all US and Canadian requirements for petroleum. The costs of squeezing oil from these materials should be only slightly higher than present costs of oil production. Moreover, atomic electric power is rapidly becoming competitive with power from coal, oil and natural gas. One estimate is that half of all electricity, and 15 percent of all energy, used in the US in the year 2000 will come from nuclear reactors.

Water Requirements

The total rainfall over the US is 50 times our present "consumptive" use – that is, the water we withdraw from streams and pump from underground, and then lose by evaporation, thus at first glance it would seem that a doubling of our use of water by the end of the century could be accomplished without strain. There are three difficulties: only about a quarter of the total rainfall is gathered into rivers where it can be used by man; more than 90 percent of river flows occur east of the 100th meridian or in the Pacific Northwest; with present sewage disposal methods about half of total river flows will be needed to dilute and oxidize the filth of our cities by the end of the century.

If the development of irrigation agriculture continues at its present rate in the Western states, they will need about 25 percent more water than is available in the entire region. This deficit might conceivably be made up by long-distance transportation of water from surplus regions, provided the latter could be persuaded to share their abundance. But the cost would be $2 to $4 billion a year, or $60 to $100 per acre foot. This is much too high for most agriculture, though relatively cheap for municipal, industrial and even recreational needs. The quantities of water consumed by city dwellers and their industries are much less than those used in agriculture, and the Western states will not require such a vast increase in future supply if they can shift from a predominantly agricultural to a predominantly industrial and recreational economic base.

In the East and Middle West, the principal water problem in the years ahead will not be the quantity of water, but its quality. Without a radical change in sewage disposal methods or enormous expenditures for dams and other flow-regulating devices, it will be impossible to prevent the pollution of our lakes and rivers. We may not be able to maintain water at acceptable standards for public health and industrial purposes. The pollution problem in the densely populated states could become overwhelming in the next few decades unless we can adopt many technological and social innovations.

Technological advances have, of course, created much of the pollution problem. Rachel Carson called ours the age of poisons and with good reason, for many of the 10,000 new chemical compounds produced each year are not only highly toxic to living creatures, but dreadfully persistent. Until recently, detergents were among these persistent new chemicals. They contaminated lakes and streams because they were impossible to break down in the ordinary sewage disposal plant. The soap manufacturers are now producing new "biologically degradable" detergents – a fancy way of saying they will disappear like other garbage. The pesticides, herbicides, and related poisons we are spreading throughout the environment are more rugged. They can be dispersed over the fields and washed away by rain and runoff, only to be gathered again in the bodies of wild animals, birds and fishes, with consequent destruction of our fellow creatures and hazard to our own lives.

Liquid wastes are not the only kind of pollutants. Even today, an awesome amount of paper and plastic trash accumulates on every country roadside and pleasant picnic spot. In the future, when 350 million people can spend much more of their time earnestly littering the countryside, our roadsides and open spaces may slowly become buried under a rain of wrappers. One can hope that the soap people will be able to teach the packaging industry how to invent biologically degradable paper bags and plastic wrappings.

Coming Up for Air

With the rise of cities, human beings have also been forced to think of air as a resource, for air pollution is a sickness of the cities. It comes about almost entirely through the burning of fuels and wastes. Some idea of the magnitude of the problem can be obtained if we realize that the weight of air required in combustion of gasoline, diesel oil, coal and natural gas is about 150 tons per person per year, while the amount of water we use is only about 200 tons.

The cure for the worst kinds of air pollution is to prevent noxious combustion products from entering the air. But the laws of physics make it virtually impossible to keep carbon dioxide, which is the principal product of combustion, out of the air. By the year 2000, the amount of atmospheric carbon dioxide may have increased by about 50 percent;

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many believe this will have a considerable effect on the world's climate, but nobody has been able to make a convincing guess about just what that effect will be.

From the above discussion, it should be clear that natural resources in an economic sense will not put any serious limits on our American society. But we may be limited in beauty and enjoyment, and in human fulfillment, by destructive changes in the total environment. By lumping ourselves together in cities, we have drawn away from the land that nourished and shaped us. One of the tasks of this and the next generation will be to ensure that our grandchildren will still be able to understand Stephen Vincent Benét:

"When Daniel Boone goes by at night
The phantom deer arise
And all lost wild America
Is burning in their eyes."

The Desire for Beauty, the Hunger for Community

For half a century, we called upon unbounded invention and untiring industry to create an order of plenty for all of our people. The challenge of the next half century is whether we have the wisdom to use that wealth to enrich and elevate our national life, and to advance the quality of our American civilization. Your imagination, your initiative and your indignation will determine whether we build a society where old values and new visions are buried under unbridled growth. For in your time we have the opportunity to move not only toward the rich society and the powerful society, but upward to the Great Society. The Great Society rests on abundance and liberty for all. It demands an end to poverty and racial injustice, to which we are totally committed in our time. But that is just the beginning. The Great Society is a place where every child can find knowledge to enrich his mind and to enlarge his talents. It is a place where leisure is a welcome chance to build and reflect, not a feared cause of boredom and restlessness. It is a place where the city of man serves not only the needs of the body and the demands of commerce, but the desire for beauty and the hunger for community.

It is a place where man can renew contact with nature. It is a place which honors creation for its own sake and for what it adds to the understanding of the race. It is a place where men are more concerned with the quality of their goals than the quantity of their goods. But most of all, the Great Society is not a safe harbor, a resting place, a final objective, a finished work. It is a challenge constantly renewed, beckoning us toward a destiny where the meaning of our lives matches the marvelous products of our labor.

—LYNDON B. JOHNSON

University of Michigan, May 22, 1964

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Education: Cultivating Greater Diversity

by Christopher Jencks

If the only function of American educational institutions were to provide formal instruction in academic and vocational subjects, a discussion of creating the Great Society could pay them comparatively little heed. We are not as verbally or mathematically skilled as we ought to be, and these inadequacies cost us a good deal each year, whether you look at the GNP, the cultural and technical quality of American life or at individual income, status and satisfaction. But our academic ignorance and vocational ineptitude is of marginal importance compared to other national failings – including other failings in our schools and colleges. As always in the past, Americans expect their schools and colleges to do more than teach children to pass examinations; they expect them to give shape and direction to the lives of children and adolescents – and sometimes even adults. It is the educators' inability to manage this difficult feat, at least for most of their charges, that should provide a prophet of the Great Society cause for anxiety.

Before discussing the social and psychological role of our schools and colleges, however, a brief comment must be made about the "conservative" theorists who argue that American educators suffer from *hubris*, and that they should stop even trying to do tasks which can only be handled by the family, by employers, by churches or by other social institutions. In principle these critics are right. Schools and colleges are not ideal settings for growing up. By their very nature they tend to be impersonal, bureaucratic and hierarchical. They have to rely on words and numbers as a substitute for many kinds of experience, and they have to rely on large groups, in which children vastly outnumber adults, for most of their achievements. Nevertheless, inadequate as schools and colleges may be to meet the non-academic responsibilities thrust upon them, the fact that America has turned to educators for help testifies to the failure of other institutions to do what is necessary.

In a society changing as rapidly as ours, most parents lack the assurance to impose their own youthful standards of behavior on their children. So if schools and colleges sanction children spending large amounts of time without adult supervision, parents go along. If they accept cars and cigarettes as part of adolescent life, parents will usually do the same. If the school or college winks at sex and liquor, parents find it hard to exercise a veto. If it promotes athletic teams, fraternities and sororities, as neo-familial structures commanding passionate loyalties, parents cannot resist effectively and seldom try.

Nor is the helplessness of the typical parent confined to "discipline." It extends to affection and emotional support. A school-age child spends half his waking hours away from his parents in a setting where his agemates outnumber adults 25:1. At school, he learns to

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rely on his classmates as the mirror in which he views himself. If he is successful by their standards he feels himself a king; if he is popular with them he accepts himself as a tolerable human being; if his impulses conform to the norms they establish, he yields to them and finds ways to get around any contradictory norms established by his elders. Parents sometimes deplore particular consequences of this "peer culture," but they normally accept its broad outlines. Twentieth Century parents are less and less likely to want their children to live within the bosom of the family, and many are alarmed by a child who tries. They want their children to establish close friendships with children of their own age, and many want children to be "popular" as well.

Staying in School

The inability of the family to cope with all the tasks traditionally assigned to it has been matched by employers' growing reluctance to undertake their traditional responsibilities. From 1880 to 1920 almost all children except those from the professional and managerial classes left school at 13 or 14. The daylight hours of adolescence were spent at work. The lower classes usually turned to unskilled work; the more fortunate found either blue collar or white collar "apprenticeships," which hopefully led to more skilled work and enabled employers to decide who was fit for greater responsibility. Between 1920 and 1940 the average school-leaving age rose very rapidly from about 14 to 18. Universal education through high school became the dominant American norm, and high schools took over certain kinds of vocational training. Still, many 18-year-olds were not ready for the kind of work they hoped to do as adults. Many employers still had to provide a good deal of training, as well as making provision for separating sheep from goats. In the past 10 years, however, employers have shown more and more reluctance to do this. In a glutted labor market they have avoided hiring workers under 21. And instead of taking on large numbers of young people, trying them out on various jobs, and giving them whatever training and responsibility they seemed able to cope with, more and more employers have left training and screening to the colleges. It has become harder and harder to get a job without higher education, and even if the non-college man gets an unskilled or semi-skilled job, there is not likely to be any machinery for helping him to work his way up through the ranks. Employers assume that those who have the appropriate academic credentials have not only technical skills but ambition, adaptability, ability to control their impulses, and a willingness to do others' work. To date, young people have been slow to respond to this change in employer expectations. The average school-leaving age has risen very slowly since 1940, and as a result teenage unemployment has steadily increased. Nevertheless, it seems safe to predict that by 1980 the school-leaving age will have climbed from 18 to 20 or 21.

The net result of these changes is that despite the protests of the conservatives, educational institutions have more and more influence over the social and psychological development of the young and over the kinds of adult lives the young seek and have an opportunity to lead. It is therefore hardly reassuring to discover that America offers the great majority of young people no choice whatever about the kind of school they attend and very little about the kind of college. Economic and logistical pressures force nearly every young person into the nearest public institution.

Public school men admit this but argue that *within* most public institutions, be they elementary schools, comprehensive high schools, or local commuter colleges (which for reasons I will explain are the wave of the future in undergraduate education), there is enormous variety and a wide range of choice. If this is interpreted to mean *academic* variety and choice, there is some truth in it. But everything I have already said underlines the fact that the non-academic learning which takes place in school and college is at least as important as the academic. And in non-academic terms the internal diversity of public institutions, while not to be entirely ignored, is far from impressive. Of all the relationships which a man might have with colleagues, neighbors, friends, parents, children or government, how many are accepted as legitimate (much less desirable) by more than a handful of American educators? Of all the possible responses to youthful anxiety about popularity, intelligence, athletic ability and sexuality, how many varieties are sanctioned within any one American school or college? There are, of course, some differences *among* institutions – though far less than one might hope. But since these institutions are not located or administered in such a way that families can choose freely between them, their apparent diversity is of very little value to particular individuals. I will discuss this problem first at the elementary and secondary level, then at the college level.

Majority Rule

The lack of competition and choice in the public school system is not simply an historical accident. The ideology of the public schools (and to a lesser extent the public colleges) is majoritarian; minorities are to be "assimilated" if they are ethnic, to be ignored if they are religious, to be distrusted if they are socio-economic. According to most public school spokesmen, every school should try to be "comprehensive," serving a cross-section of the

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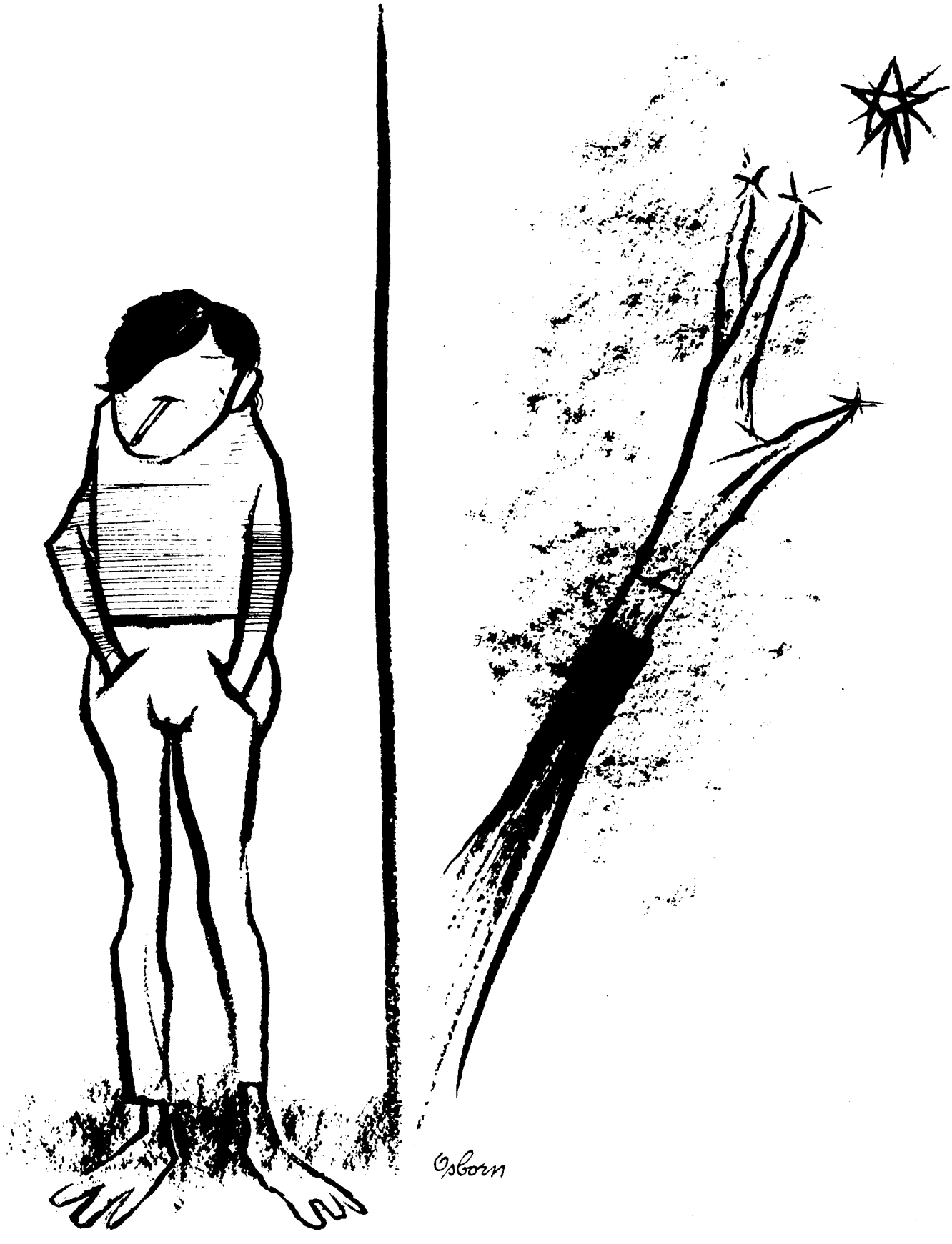

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American people. If the school succeeds in this, every child should be happy to attend it. The idea that special schools should be set up to cater to minority tastes within a school district is regarded as "undemocratic." The school, after all, is a melting pot, where we all learn to get along with one another, and the idiosyncracies which divide us are played down or rubbed out.

Decreed from on High

Parents have got around some of the limitations in this "cross-section" ideology by grouping themselves into comparatively homogeneous neighborhoods and then pressuring boards of education to organize the schools along neighborhood lines. This strategy is, however, only partially successful. Many parents, it is true, pick their housing with at least one eye on the character of the local schools, and these parents usually get what they want, or something near it. But not all parents have enough mobility, money or the right color of skin to move near the school of their choice. Furthermore, the present pattern of school administration limits the extent to which any neighborhood school can respond to the special character of its clients. Many basic decisions about the schools (*e.g.*, who can teach) are made at the state level, and most others are made "across the board" by boards of education dealing with fairly heterogeneous districts. Individual schools have almost no autonomy. Neither the principal, the faculty, the parent nor the student usually has any direct voice in deciding how the school budget will be spent, which teachers will be hired for "his" school, what subjects will be offered, when the school will be open and so forth. The only way they can influence such decisions is to organize a political protest movement throughout the school district, and then pressure the board to change its policy.

Two general reforms seem in order. First, the idea that there is one best way to run a school should be abandoned; central control over school systems should be greatly reduced; and individual principals, PTA's, and even student government ought to be given more power. At the same time, school boards should abandon efforts to link school choice with where a family happens to live. Instead, families should be encouraged to shop around and send their children wherever they wish. *Every family should have equal access to every school; no family should be forced to send a child to a school it dislikes.* The result of these two related reforms could be a dramatic change in the monolithic pattern of school organization.

A Significant Choice

In the system I envisage, one principal might decide to run a Montessori school, drawing children from all over the city, while another might want to create a school which emphasized the Three R's and basic education. A third might combine classroom work with part-time employment, a fourth might be largely staffed with part-time "amateur" teachers who also held non-academic jobs. A fifth might try hiring fewer teachers and paying them more, while keeping the teaching load down by having the children spend more time in the library and less in class. Any number of variations can be imagined, and under such a system it would be comparatively easy to try them out. Some parents, of course, would dislike each innovation, and so would some students. But if the old concept of neighborhood schools were abandoned, the disgruntled could send their children elsewhere.

There are, I admit, a variety of administrative headaches in any such reform scheme. To begin with, it would require a more adequate transportation system than now exists in most areas, and it would not work at all in thinly settled parts of the country. Nevertheless, we are an increasingly mobile and urban people, and experience has shown that if schools are really distinctive, parents will send (or even take) their children miles to attend.

A second difficulty is that any such free choice system would give some schools too many applicants and others too few. In the long run the solution is to build extra classrooms in the popular schools. In the short run it is to admit those who most want to attend – first come, first served. This means establishing waiting lists and taking those who apply early.

Unpopular schools must also be dealt with. If money were allocated among schools on the basis of enrollment, unpopular schools would have plenty of incentive to change their ways. But if a poor location, a bad principal, poor teachers or a "bad image," kept enrollment substantially below capacity, a board of education mindful of its capital investment would eventually have to declare the experiment bankrupt. In some cases the school would have to be closed (*e.g.*, if it were in an area to which nobody would voluntarily send a child).

Bureaucratic Resistance

Another serious question is what the policy of a board of education should be with regard to schools which do not want to achieve distinctiveness by establishing a unique administrative or pedagogic system, but by restricting admission to certain kinds of applicants. Clearly a school which gives preference to whites, or Catholics, or the children of the well-to-do cannot be tolerated. But what about a school which is restricted to those with high IQ's? My own feeling is that the decision about who attends a particular school should be kept in the hands of students and parents, not testers,

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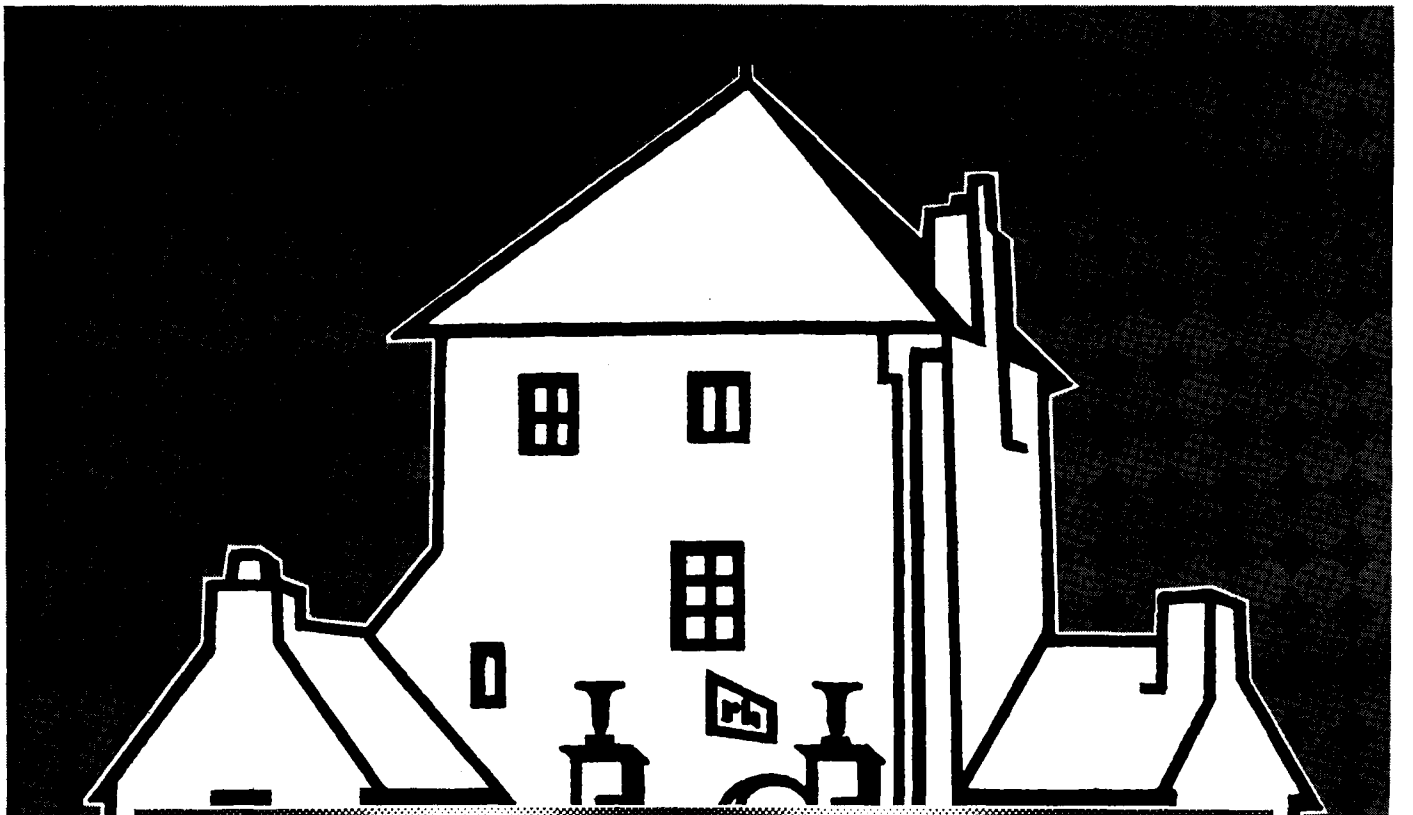

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teachers or administrators. A school should be allowed to offer only college preparatory courses, but it should have to admit any student who wants to do the work.

The creation of a genuinely heterogeneous system of the kind I have described is not very likely, or at least not soon. Central educational bureaucracies and boards of education will not delegate much authority unless forced to do so, and there is very little pressure in this direction from the electorate. Most middle-class people find it easier to move to a better district than to organize politically, and in school politics the lower classes hardly count. As a result, most school systems will probably go on trying to find a middle-of-the-road policy acceptable to the majority of parents, and let the minorities go hang. Nevertheless, considering the enormous influence which schools can have on children, some provision, it seems to me, ought to be made for the dissenters.

More Public Private Schools

One solution would be to provide the malcontents with scholarships, tenable either in neighboring public school districts or any private school willing to open itself to all on the same basis as the local public schools. Such scholarships would, of course, be bitterly attacked by the public school men, both as being "undemocratic" and as an attempt to "destroy the public schools." Private schools are not, however, inherently undemocratic. It all depends on their admission policies. If parents want their children to attend, say, an extremely permissive Summerhill-type school and if the public system provides nothing of the sort, what is undemocratic about setting up a private school? One might as well argue that it is undemocratic to build your own swimming pool if your home town doesn't have a public one. If a school is open to all, it is not undemocratic but simply different. And if competition from such private schools can destroy the public schools (which I doubt), then public schools do not deserve public support any more.

Close-to-Home College

When one turns to colleges, the need to promote competition and choice is less obvious. There is still considerable difference between one campus and the next. Furthermore, while both the machinery for informing students about collegiate possibilities and the scholarship funds available to help needy students go where they want are far from adequate, the situation is better than at the elementary and secondary level. Unless remedial action is taken, however, two current trends seem likely to eliminate most of this diversity in the next generation. The first trend is the universalization of higher education, which is leading to the concentration of most undergraduate training in cheap, public, locally-oriented commuter colleges. The second trend is the academic profession's increasing power over collegiate organization and standards, a trend that promises to eliminate most of the diversity of residential colleges.

What lies ahead for higher education may be imagined from observing California, where two-thirds of the younger generation is already entering college. Faced with demand of this magnitude, the California legislature has authorized huge state university campuses in every major center of population. Seven of these institutions are now being created. They will cater largely to graduate students and to undergraduates whose ability and interests are likely to lead to graduate school. Most students who want a terminal BA (or even in some cases an MA) will attend one of 16 state colleges. Those who want either a two-year vocational training program, or two more years of general education before transferring to a state college or university, will turn to one of more than 70 public junior colleges. This three-tier system ensures that 95 percent of all California households are within commuting distance of some kind of public college. The social atmosphere in these institutions varies according to their tier, but as between one junior college and another, or one state college and another, there is seldom more social or psychological variation than between one comprehensive suburban high school and another. Nevertheless, since these public colleges are virtually free, and since the state makes only token efforts to provide financial help for students who want to live away from home or to attend a private college, the great majority of California youngsters have no choice but to attend the nearest public institution. Since the forces which have created this pattern in California are now at work everywhere else in the country, and the California example is being consciously or unconsciously emulated, what is true today for California will probably be true tomorrow for America.

The Norm of Excellence

I am not suggesting that the residential undergraduate college is about to become extinct. The very bright will continue to get scholarships, and indeed the number of scholarships will grow, though probably less rapidly than the number of needy college applicants. Family incomes will also continue to rise, and this will enable more families to send their children away to college if they want to. Some families, moreover, will make heroic sacrifices to send their children to church colleges, often because they dislike the semi-permissive ethos which dominates most public commuter colleges.

Yet unless state and federal gov-

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ernments reverse the trend of recent years and provide support to individual students to go wherever they want, the residential college may become increasingly atypical. And, even if residential colleges flourish, those who attend them will have less and less chance of finding a campus which deviates in any important respects from the norms of the academic profession – norms which are almost uniform across the country. Boards of trustees and college administrators are more and more committed to something vaguely defined as "academic excellence," and this leads them to hire teachers who have published articles in scholarly journals, or failing that, have at least earned PhD's at a university which employs such scholars. In order to attract and retain such teachers most colleges have had to abandon the distinctive social purposes for which they were founded.

The PhD Fetish

One college after another has been, or is about to be, made over into a juvenile version of graduate school. Nine times out of ten, I admit, the new version of undergraduate education is better suited then the old to the world for which students are now headed. But it is not always suited to the world from which the students come, or the world which they would like to help create. Even those who are happy to see old-style colleges transformed often wish they were being replaced by more than cram courses for proto-PhD's.

The only solution I can see – and it is far from adequate – would be for more colleges to recruit professors from outside the standard academic disciplines. At the very least, this would mean that the faculty had more diverse standards of success for its charges than is now the case – refusing to get a PhD would not be a sign of failure. It might also breathe some new life into the often arid internal bickering of certain academic disciplines.

Considering all the forces working against diversity and choice within our system of schools and colleges, might we not also be wise to consider seriously some of the non-academic routes to the adult world?

In answering this question, it is important to distinguish between children of different ages. For elementary age children, the present

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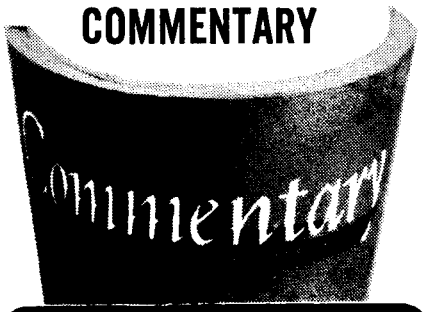

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pattern of compulsory school attendance seems to work fairly satisfactorily. Not all children thrive in the schools they are sent to, but at that age most of them can turn to their families for protection and support. Furthermore, the things which children learn in elementary school are indispensable for almost any adult role they are likely to discover. Finally, any child who isn't getting what he wants in school can at this age acquire much of his cultural furniture from television. Most of the material which appears on TV is abysmally bad, but an intelligent eight-year-old can still learn a good deal (especially vocabulary) by looking at "adult" programs designed for 12-year-olds.

Among adolescent children, however, the virtues of compulsory school attendance are less clear. The curriculum of the junior high school has only a limited connection with what the majority of students need to know as adults (its main importance being to "practice" elementary skills). Many junior high school students find their daily preferences coming each year more in conflict with school organization and routine. Furthermore, the youngster who cannot fit into the junior high school finds himself progressively less able to turn to his family for support and reassurance. The law may require that he keep attending school, but that won't prevent him from becoming a psychological dropout. It is far from clear that either he or society is served by keeping him in the back of the classroom, making more and more trouble for himself and others.

If Not School, What?

The difficulty is in thinking of alternatives. Employers, as I noted earlier, are less and less willing to take on such young men and women. They know that the majority will make bad workers, and with a labor surplus they see no reason to look for the few diamonds in the rough. Perhaps the government ought to give subsidies to employers willing to undertake such responsibilities.

Once students pass the age of 16, alternatives to school are easier to devise, because parents will usually allow their children to leave home if sufficient supervision is promised. In many cases the most obvious alternative to continued schooling is military service. The military is an educational institution of sorts, both in the formal sense that it runs an enormous number of training programs, and in the informal sense that it opens up possibilities which many youngsters had not previously taken seriously and persuades some that they can succeed at things which had previously seemed out of the question. For those who want to drop out of school, this alternative should be available. Disgruntled 16- or 17-year-old volunteers would be more bothersome and more expensive to train than the comparatively gifted men who are now drafted at age 23, but the extra cost would be more than repaid if the result was to salvage some school dropouts from despair.

A second alternative to formal education is the kind of institution created in the 1930's by the CCC, and now being recreated with certain variations by the Job Corps. Since it is free from some of the constraints of the regular school system, the Job Corps may be able to provide some adolescents with a kind of training and a pattern of life more acceptable than school. Another alternative, also to be supported under the new anti-poverty legislation, is a mixture of classroom study and work.

New choices are needed, however, not just at the secondary school level but at the college level. Despite the universal pressure from employers for recruits with higher education, the young are far from universally happy while doing conventional academic chores. Many drop out in boredom or disgust. They need a better alternative than a career in a shoe store. When they can get them, some take unskilled jobs for a year or two, and then return to college. But many have talents and dreams which such an interlude fails to tap. It might make sense to offer them more challenging work, even when the risk that they would botch the job was considerable. The new VISTA program (what used to be called the domestic peace corps) might be opened to such college dropouts, and other public service organizations might do well to hire unhappy collegians for a one- or two-year stint.

Years of Boredom

For those who believe, as most educators do, that academic achievement is of enormous importance for "later life" (as well as being good in itself), all efforts to create alternatives to the classroom will seem deplorable. As every commencement orator notes, "There is so much to learn and so little time to learn it." But even the most casual observation of American adolescents, either in secondary school or college, reveals that what most lack is not time but interest. For most people, the classroom is a very poor way to learn. They are passive and bored. The teacher talks, they hardly listen. If they don't understand, they can only interrupt at the cost of disrupting the whole class, annoying not only the teacher but their classmates. It is all contrived and unreal – even worse than a "teaching machine." The prospect that every American will soon spend half his waking hours in such settings up to the age of 21 is hardly reassuring, nor is it likely to sit very well with the young. Unless we invent alternatives, both within the established system of formal education and outside, the society of the future will have to cope with a steady increase in youthful alienation and anger.

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The Economy: A Case for Efficient Planning

by Harald Malmgren

This year, Americans will turn out more than $600 billion worth of goods and services, or more than $2,500 of income per person, including babies and grandparents. Within 15 years the economy will turn out one trillion dollars of product, if the rate of growth remains about the same as it has been the last few years. This is wealth beyond the dreams of the progressives of 1914 – or of most other nations today.

Yet, roughly one out of every five of our families earns an income below $3,000. Unemployment stands at 5.5 percent, or over four million members of the labor force, to which one may add some three million more who have either stopped looking for work or have taken on part-time work because they can't get a full-time job.

We don't understand all the effects of automation. But we do know that employment is not rising in manufacturing, although output in manufacturing is increasing steadily. We know also that changes in the demand for various skills are occurring everywhere: it is the services portion of the economy which is growing most rapidly and is now responsible for over half the total jobs. And since services require skills and education, there is extremely high unemployment among the less educated, particularly recent school dropouts. The unskilled or semiskilled who are getting jobs are the ones most likely to be out of work later on. Over 12 percent of nonfarm laborers, for example, are out of work now. This is no temporary aberration. It is a portent of the future. It is the nonroutine jobs requiring education, versatility and judgment, or the specialized jobs requiring training and experience which are growing. Routine jobs will be increasingly mechanized.

The traditional means of dealing with those left out of the occupational mainstream have been social welfare programs, like school-lunch subsidies and unemployment compensation, which in effect funnel some of our income toward the poor. How much would have to be redistributed to curb present poverty? If an additional 2.5 percent of the nation's income were diverted to the poor in the form of a monthly check, the 12 million families now receiving less than $3,000 a year could at least be brought up to $3,000 – the so-called threshold of poverty. But while 2.5 percent is a small figure, it represents around $15 billion. Imagine a dole on that scale passing through Congress, in addition to existing programs.

Or the government could hand out a monthly federal check to the hard-core unemployed, not as a stopgap but permanently. Just pay several million people for staying out of the work force, and consider it the price of national prosperity. Again, any such grand-scale dole may make some economic sense, but it goes against the grain. What a man earns through sweat or shrewdness is what he lives on. Or at least that is the American Faith. Underlying this Faith is what Ernest Bevin

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aptly called the economic whip: the more a man produces the more he is rewarded, and conversely the less he produces the greater the loss of comfort or subsistence. The corollary is that idleness is vice, and Congress will not subsidize vice.

The crucial question, raised by unions for years, is whether the economic whip should be applied to the backs of men and women whose earnings depend upon other men's decisions. If the market fails because businessmen use bad judgment, should workers be penalized? Fortunately, practicality has prevailed over dogma, and the government has, slowly and fitfully, assumed responsibility for trying to guarantee a low rate of unemployment, and for supporting the *temporarily* unemployed. The permanently unemployed are assumed away.

Spending Is Not Enough

What if we choose not to assume them away? We have heard that if only the demand for goods were to grow more rapidly, unemployment would be sopped up. Increase spending and the economy will be back on its feet. But that is only part of the answer. Government fiscal policy which pumps additional spending into the economy during downturns has, in fact, boosted employment and income. On the other hand, the labor force is growing each year, and if the economy climbs up at its present 3.5 percent per year, the growth in the labor force will be barely offset by the increase in jobs, and no dent will be made in the unemployment rate. So the economy must grow faster. The most recent government attempts to stimulate growth – increased tax incentives for investment and private spending – are fine, and further cuts will probably be made over the next few years. But if increased private spending continues to shift toward services, and increased investment continues to eliminate routine tasks, prospects for the unskilled and semi-skilled in the coming decades are gloomy.

Moreover, there is evidence that each additional investment dollar in the future will provide *more* output than the dollar before. The reason for this is that technological progress brings increasing productivity of capital, and this in turn means that spending must not only grow, but grow at an increasing rate to keep up with productivity. If there is too much investment, the economy could become worse off as spending lagged further behind.

A Great Society is, at the minimum, a fully employed one. With that goal in mind, we must devise selective measures aimed at specific distressed areas and groups of people. The Kennedy-Johnson Administration has begun to do this. There is the poverty program to educate illiterate adults, train young men and provide interim jobs for them, initiate local community actions; in brief, patch up wherever possible. Programs like the Area Redevelopment Act of 1961 and the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, aimed at unskilled workers and workers displaced by machines, can be expanded. But to have any noticeable effect, all these programs must be far more ambitious in scope and funding than at present. The public, if it wants a lively, healthy economy, will just have to get used to the idea that billions, not millions have to be spent. And why not? Construction of mass transport systems in urban areas, for example, does more than enable people to get through their crowded cities with less discomfort; it creates more unskilled and semi-skilled jobs, both in the construction work itself and in the services later to be performed. Or take education. Vastly increased expenditures here mean construction of new schools (jobs), and then a more diversified educational system tailored to a great variety of aptitude and social needs. Vocational training especially could occupy a far greater portion of our youth for longer periods than is the case today. Education on a massive scale is ultimately our best weapon against unemployment, because it gets to the heart of the kinds of unemployment we have and are likely to have tomorrow.

Free To Do What?

Now, this nation is not opposed on principle to public welfare; it is only that people prefer to spend their own money as they wish, rather than have the government spend it for them. That is freedom. But is it all there is to freedom? More gadgets for the affluent may make life nicer for the affluent, but surely more gadgets for them is less important socially than more hospitals, better transport, better schools. Remember, it is not the affluent, but the poor who need these things, and the poor are least able to afford even that which is available. A poor man is not free by any definition if he can't get an education, a job or a hospital bed.

I don't underestimate the difficulty of getting this kind of economic thinking into people's heads. Congress still finds it hard to understand that a federal deficit is nothing more than the transformation of private saving into public spending. But obtuseness goes further and expresses itself in a strong aversion to forward national planning. And that brings us back to our Economic Faith. Let me illustrate. When the government makes an economic forecast and draws up a budget for future expenditures, the time-frame is a little more than a year ahead, which is extraordinary. What large private business would invest without having made a painstaking analysis of the future for its investment? It is the paradox of the American economy that it believes in private saving for the future, it disapproves morally of speculating for short-run

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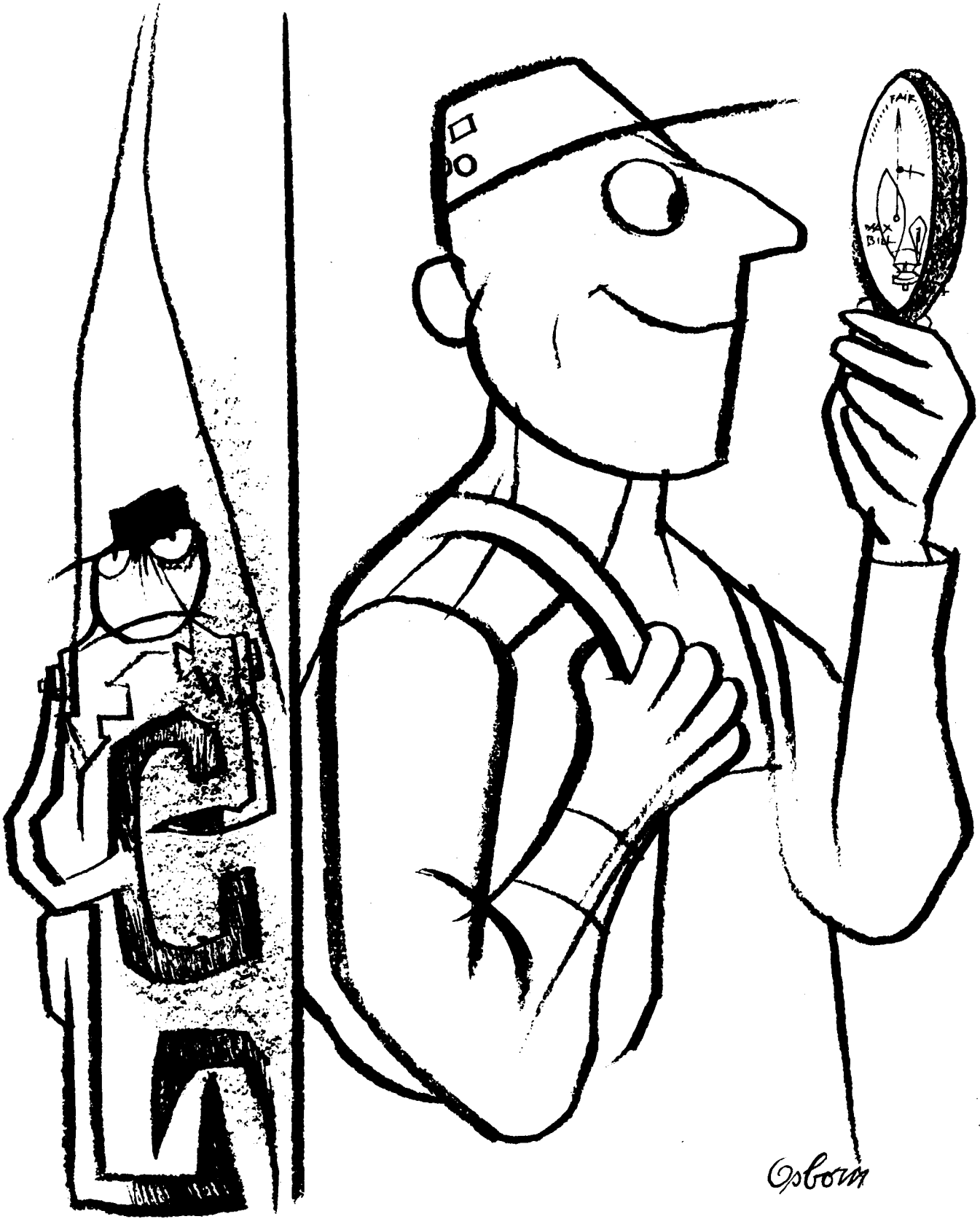

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gains, while on the other hand it views long-range public investment with suspicion. That is very unbusinesslike. Business firms have long-range plans for investment, medium-range plans for internal resource allocation and short-range plans for production. They have plans for marketing their goods. Planning, at least in rough guidelines, is second nature to business executives. They strive to control all they can, often by growing bigger, or merging to include more activities, or by reaching tacit and explicit agreements with other firms. They fight very hard to eliminate the uncertainties of competition.

What is General Motors but a vast planned economy, similar in many respects to the Polish economy? (It is about one-third the size of the Polish national product.) Capital acquisition and investment decisions tend to be centralized; many directives and regulations guide allocation and production – and this is characteristic of small companies as well. To regard our economy as the polar extreme of a centrally-directed socialist economy is to fail to understand how it works. We have a large number of centrally-planned economic systems, each using the market to deal with the others. The relevant question is how all these plans can mesh more efficiently, so that there is less waste in unemployment and excess capacity.

Consider the clash of two institutions, a big firm and a big union. (Unions, by the way, also operate rather differently than an "ideal" labor market would suggest.) If a strike occurs, many not directly involved are put out of work. When the two agree on a sharing of the wealth produced, the bargaining terms may set price and wage trends throughout the nation. The President may call upon both to stay within guidelines set by his Council of Economic Advisers, but even that appeal may be arbitrary in relation to the nation's interests. When should prices come down, when do workers deserve a larger share of the pie, when should a larger portion go to the business, or to stockholders, in relation to the "national interest"?

The old idea that nationalization of the means of production is the same as planning is no longer valid – if it ever was. Modern thinking focuses instead on planning as a source of information about the economy's prospects. For example, McGraw-Hill each year surveys business investment plans, and that information helps government and business to gauge the size and pattern of private investment in the months ahead. The French government each year, likewise, draws up its plan for the future. It surveys periodically the intentions of business; these intentions are matched with estimates of what the total French economy can achieve; the results are fed back to individual firms, which may revise their own plans so as to pick up slack appearing between their estimate and the government's estimates of market demand. Or the firm might wish to cut back its planned investment in relation to projected demand, or in relation to total investment scheduled by other comparable firms. The French call this indicative planning, because its purpose is to indicate how their own scheduled operations fit in with those of everyone else. The plan is also backed up by tough controls on the capital market.

Another type of planning involves setting a target rate for national total growth, and then working out what the various segments of the economy need to do to hit the target. If the analysis of requirements is sound and the target is realistic, it is possible for businesses to invest and produce more prudently. The target is reached because businessmen expect it to be – and so act as to reach it. A couple of years ago, our Council of Economic Advisers tried something along these lines but failed to get any industry support. And perhaps that will continue to be so until more people understand that indicative plans can improve the efficiency of business investment by reducing the chances of overshooting or undershooting market demand. It can enable government to spot in advance where the economy is likely to sag, and to shore up weak areas before real trouble occurs.

Looking Ahead

But more is involved in indicative planning than short-run efficency. We need to know what needs are growing, which are declining and where. As I noted earlier, the changing demand for services and for kinds of workers is not minor or transitional. It is long-range. If we train workers, we have to know what we are training them for. If we build roads, we have to know what will be moving on them. If we spur private investment, we have to have a fairly accurate idea of how many jobs will be created in the long run, compared to the alternative policy of boosting employment through public expenditures.

Could we not begin by taking simple steps? The government now sponsors a very limited survey of business prospects. Let the government expand this service, periodically collecting long-range and short-range business forecasts, so that we have a truly national survey of busi-

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ness intentions. Then, draw up the federal budget in two versions, rather than one as we do now. There would be a long-run budget, in rough terms, and a short-run budget in great detail. The long-run budget would be revised each year and be made public. On the basis of that budget, a target plan for the economy would be drawn up, and this too would be made public. Businessmen could then compare their own intentions with the growth potential outlined in the target plan, and revise where necessary. There is even a precedent for this in the *ad hoc* briefings recently instituted by the Pentagon on defense expenditures.

Even simpler: require businesses to disclose more of their price, cost, sales and investment information. This is highly-guarded stuff, thought to be valuable to competitors. But why shouldn't competitors know what the other firm is doing? A diffusion of knowledge can only increase market efficiency.

Moving in this direction should be possible once we understand that the Industrial Revolution brought with it the Organizational Revolution, and this has produced something entirely new – a highly but inefficiently planned economy. The question is how to improve its efficiency without sacrificing the tremendous productive energies we find in it.

There are numerous other possibilities – if we apply to public policy the same inventive, pragmatic thinking of which private enterprise boasts. For instance, among economists – and among more and more politicians – there has developed a consensus that the national budget should be used to maintain full employment and a fairly stable price level. But beyond that, why not pay people to get in and out of jobs, and pay them in illness and in old age as well. As earnings from work are downgraded as the sole standard of value, we may move toward an income standard for those not fit for

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work. Meanwhile, big firms and big unions are turning away, or should be, from the concept of a shared plundering of the consumer and toward acknowledgment of their responsibilities to the whole community. This necessarily means their working in a sort of *troika* with government. Why not? A creative coexistence of this kind is not beyond the wit of man to manage. An income policy that holds average wage increases to four percent a year (or whatever the productivity figure is) would probably have to include a special tax on unearned incomes, to prevent them from rising faster than four percent. Working together they ought to be able to share gains fairly, taking account of special circumstances, without thwarting the national interest. Employers, unions and government also ought to be able to work out a national scheme or scale of transferable pensions for all, to facilitate labor mobility, and thereby efficiency, as well as in the interest of the income standard. And I see no reason why this should not link up with more comprehensive, but flexible, health insurance plans. Finally, the sheer size of modern pension and insurance funds has brought a whole new dimension of economic thinking into being – a dimension that is at right angles to old controversies about Nationalization *vs* Private Enterprise.

Having said all this, the great question remains: What kind of society is a Great Society? J. K. Galbraith now argues that in an age of affluence we no longer ought to fear making value-judgments rather than cost-judgments. If ballet is worth having, as we earlier decided public libraries were worth having, go ahead and provide for ballet, even though there is not sufficient "demand" to make it "economic." This attitude obviously can be extended from ballet to beautifying the countryside, and in a dozen other different directions. With all this wealth we can afford to try.

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Women: Emancipation Is Still To Come

by Bruno Bettelheim

To make this a more livable society, by the close of the 20th Century, women's position in the home and outside of it will have to continue that evolution toward social equality and sexual freedom which began over a century ago. About the sexual freedom I will have little to say, despite its importance, because I believe that men and women would be well able to arrange their sexual relations to their liking, were they better able to arrange the rest of their lives. To put it differently: if men and women knew more clearly what they wish were their place in the home and at work, they could also better decide what their place is in bed. Even if they are well satisfied sexually, that satisfaction rarely compensates for the emptiness so many experience in their everyday lives. Hence I will be speaking most about women in their everyday life, and since women want families, about wives and mothers.

Though much of this article will be about working wives and mothers, I want to be sure this is not misunderstood. My concern here is not with the needs of American society for human skills and resources. If we want to have a Great Society, we will have to free ourselves of viewing man in terms of economic production and rewards. That Western society can afford to put economic considerations second to human needs is the greatest achievement of our technological age. It allows us, for example, to stop thinking of education in terms of greater earning power: nothing is more destructive to education for human purposes than to educate for economic ones. If we think of high school and college as means of fitting us to a job or ensuring a higher income, that is all they will yield. Nothing is more alien to the good life than to make man fit for a job when the real problem is to make the job fit for man – or fit for a wife and a mother.

Often the problems of women too, are put in economic terms: should they or should they not work to increase the economic well being of society or should they or should they not (in Parson's terms) devote themselves to the task of producing high quality children, as opposed to simply "having" them. Yet what is radically new in our human opportunities is that neither the family nor society need now be geared toward production, neither of material goods nor of children.

The problem of woman's role in our age of technology is hardly novel. Its essential solution was stated firmly a century and a half ago when Balzac recognized that, "A woman who has had a man's education is both the possessor of the most brilliant faculties, and faculties most fruitful in happiness both for herself and for her husband." Times have changed since then because today the education of most women matches that of their husbands. Beyond that we have not progressed very much. As far as her "brilliant faculties" are concerned, while we develop them through education, more often than not they are

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then permitted to lie fallow. At least most men seem uncomfortable about living with women who make use of their brilliant faculties outside of the home, and quite a few women seem reluctant to use them. Among the reasons for this is a widespread feeling that if a mother uses her abilities and creates a full life for herself outside of her home, she may be cheating her children, if not also her husband.

Conscientious Mothers

In a strange dialectic process the same insights of psychoanalysis that helped to unfetter the Victorian woman have imposed new restraints. Having broken the shackles that kept her from freely using her faculties, and having helped us to understand the psychological reasons for the shackles in the first place, they create brand-new worries for the woman who wants to think well of herself as a mother. Because psychoanalysis has made us so aware of the emotional needs of children, it is now the conscientious woman who frets overly about her infant, ready to meet his every need; later she feels she must always be available to her child, to protect him from overstimulation, understimulation, and to lovingly take care of him at all moments. In short, her faculties are highly developed, she wants to use them to the full, but worries that to do so beyond the confines of the home means deserting her children, if not also her husband. This is her dilemma.

It is also why the conjugal happiness Balzac promised would result from an equal education of the sexes seems to somehow elude many of the couples so advantaged. But all this need not be. So let us speculate a bit about what has gone wrong, what kind of changes are needed, what might be done to effect them.

First, let's discuss the erroneous idea that the working wife and mother is a modern invention. On the contrary, the full-time wife and mother is a phenomenon that only modern technology has made possible. Before the industrial revolution – and except for ruling groups of insignificant number – both man and woman of all societies not based on slavery, had to be active in the economic process if the family was to prosper. The Pioneer woman, and later the wife of the farmer, the small artisan and the shopkeeper, was usually as fully involved in the economic and social activities of the family as her husband. The lives of both husband and wife moved within the small circle of village life in which both were an integral part. Their worlds were not separated, neither socially, nor economically, nor spiritually; nor was the world of adults set apart from children. Such a life was far from idyllic. Labor was cruel, life was full of anxieties, and amenities were few. But people shared it and were rarely alone in their struggle. Their existence depended on working together.

If working for sheer survival formed the essence of life, then their lives were brimful of living. And this is what counts in terms of human satisfaction: whether the things we are doing seem the most meaningful ones we can possibly do. If they are, we attain self-realization whether we call this human integration, or autonomy, or an access to peak experience.

This is the quality of existence each of us seeks most, once mere survival is assured, as it now is for the informed middle classes. I restrict myself to them because if we want to create a Great Society in the United States, we will have to make available to all citizens the living standards that now characterize this group. If we do that, and our economy would support it once we decided that is what we want it to do, then the problems of most women will sooner or later be identical with those discussed here.

Obviously no self-realization is possible unless man has mastered his two greatest tasks: firstly, self-preservation, which in our present world includes not only the preservation of the existing population but also extending the scope of our mass technological society; and, secondly, the procreation of the species. Of these two tasks the first has been more the domain of the male, the second of the female. At the same time, no full self-realization was possible for either sex without active participation in both tasks. Thus while man's principal means of self-realization was through work, he could not achieve it without his being a husband and father becoming central to the meaning of his life. Woman's analogous path to autonomy was in being wife and mother. But unless she, too, had a meaningful share in the work of preserving the present generation and of extending the horizons of future generations, procreation alone was not enough to fill out the meaning of her life. Before birth control the more numerous pregnancies certainly made her fully aware of her procreative role. That she was also worn out by these pregnancies as much as by physical and economic hardships is here beside the point. What is significant is that only technological advances (less physical hardship in production) and scientific progress (control of pregnancies) permit both sexes today to find self-realization in ways they have chosen and not those forced upon them by necessity.

Farming Out Housework

While at first the industrial revolution often magnified the hardships of physical labor, these worsened conditions belonged only to a period of transition. More lasting and fateful, the revolution removed economic activities from the home, separated family life radically from work, and in this way split the sexes and the generations asunder.

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Not even slave societies experienced such a split. Without it no Victorian woman was possible, nor the restriction of the female to homemaking and nothing much else. Very soon, too, the industrial revolution made superfluous many of the central activities of women and turned the rest of them over to men: from spinning and weaving to packaged foods, plumbing, central heating.

What happened next was inevitable. Excluded from the broader social life and relieved of hard but meaningful labors, *tedium vitae* set in. Witness the empty or frustrated existence of most Victorian middle-class women. With it came also sexual inhibition, both a cause and a consequence of so artificially limited a life.

Against all this the feminist movement was a healthy reaction. Seeing men enjoy greater freedoms, women came to want such a life for themselves. They knew little of how men, too, had subjected their human freedoms to economic necessity and were no longer finding self-realization in working for wages. Subjecting themselves to the same kind of bondage as men will not do. Least of all will women find themselves by serving economic production in a man's way, mostly because that also must give way to a more human ordering of things.

Sharing Work

I have recently returned from a study of the Israeli *kibbutzim*. Different as conditions in these small agricultural settlements are from those in our society, we can learn something from them. The founders of this movement were convinced that for women to achieve full self-realization they had to be accepted as the equals of men particularly in regard to work. No differences in working arrangements were to encroach on this equality, and they arranged life accordingly. This was some 30 years ago. But when I visited the *kibbutzim* today I was struck by how – more than in contemporary American society – women there are filling mainly those occupational roles that even in the most traditional societies are considered a woman's "place." While in the early days of the *kibbutz* there were no differences in the work assignments given to men and women, today women work at taking care of children, as teachers, as nurses, in the kitchen, the laundry, the sewing rooms, or as secretaries in the small industrial plants. And I was told that these changes were brought about by women and not imposed by the men. If I found girls working at very hard physical labor, these were predominantly visiting European or American girls.

I do not know for sure why this radical change has taken place in the occupational role of women in the *kibbutz*. But I was told that it came when more and more women began to have children, and found that working like men was not as compatible with having children as they had formerly imagined. And this, despite their elaborate arrangements for the communal rearing of children. As time passed, working close to and with children seemed more attractive to most of these women than laboring exactly as men did.

I believe this spontaneous division of labor was related to the choices of work that exist in an agricultural community. But the choice may have come easier because in *kibbutz* life women were in no way disadvantaged, either socially, culturally or economically, and because the men did not find it beneath their dignity to do what has traditionally been thought of as women's work, such as working in kitchens or dining halls.

This latter should not be underestimated. Each of us who comes home tired from work wants to sit down at the table and have his food served to him. In the *kibbutz* this is done for both sexes. In many middle-class homes in America the working wife is still expected to set the table, prepare the dinner, and serve it, though she would enjoy having it served to her as much as her husband. True he may help with it later by washing the dishes. But his contribution is usually voluntary, while that of his wife is expected. This may well have to change; as a matter of fact, more and more men are beginning to enjoy doing at least some of the cooking, and their traditional work around the house may soon include some of the work now considered women's prerogative. If both work at such chores, and since as likely as not the woman will carry the heavier burden of taking care of the children, the man will have to share with her more of the other tasks involved in running a home. There is also the possibility of entirely different arrangements; as for example, the use of common kitchen and dining facilities, as is true in the *kibbutz*. My experience, however, does not suggest that this is a desirable solution, and it certainly does not seem acceptable to the majority of middle-class families in the United States.

The Breadwinner

The *kibbutz* has also done away with another problem that one should not forget in discussing women's working: who earns and who spends whose money. While most men are rather generous in sharing their income with their wives and quite a few simply hand it over, since the wife handles the family finances, many women have feelings about the fact that they work as long and hard as their husbands, but it is the husband who brings in the money. And at least a few husbands have feelings about how freely their wives spend the money husbands earn. However friendly the arrangements, and however considerate of each other's feelings, there is a certain constraint as

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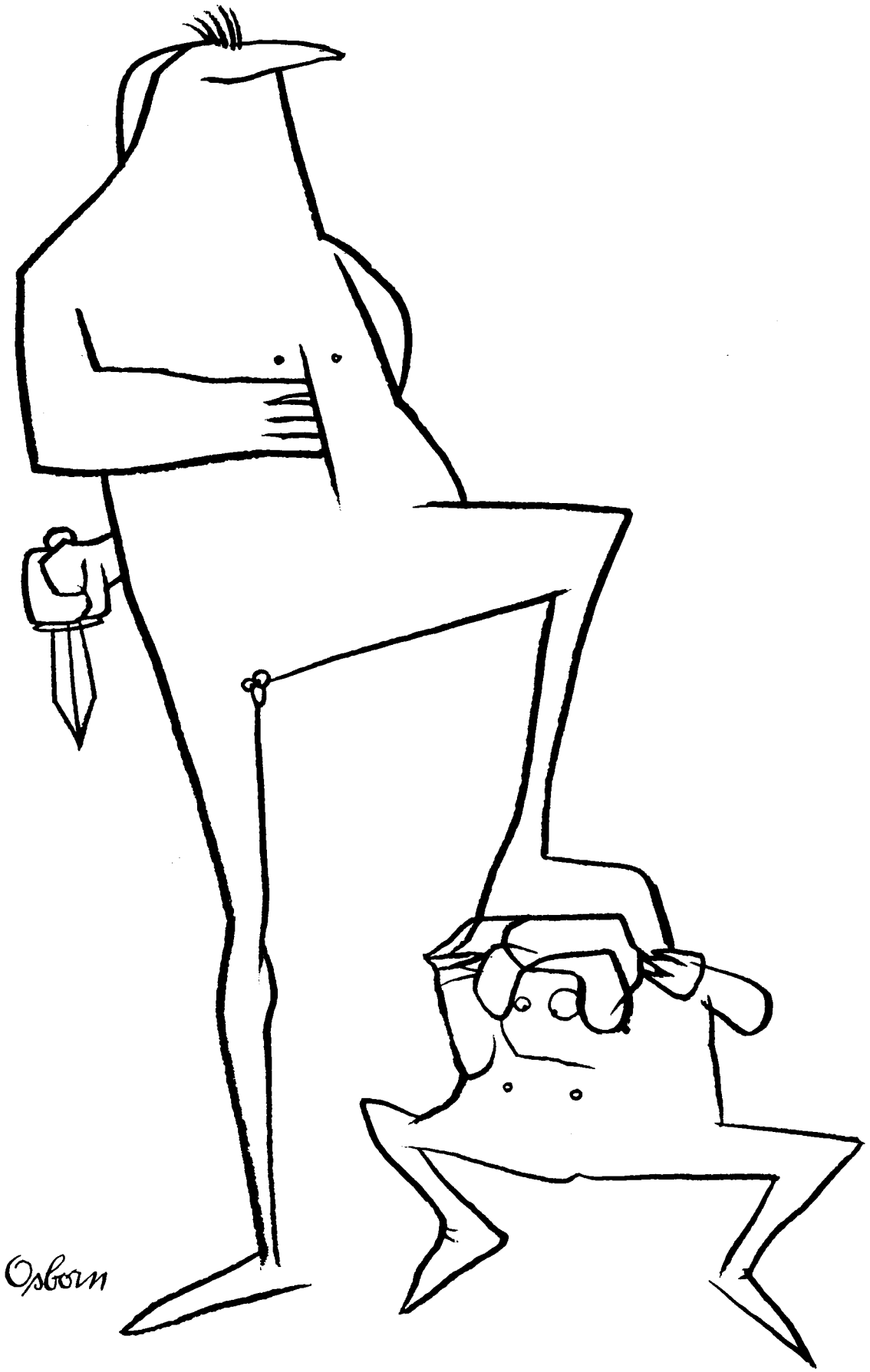

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CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

long as both do not earn at least some of the money they spend.

Since the *kibbutz* did away with such problems as who serves whom at dinner, who earns the money, who handles the children's education (neither husband nor wife, since they are educated by the community) or whose work is more prestigious (theoretically, all tasks are equally important for the well being of all), it becomes possible for jobs to be filled mainly on the basis of what work is most needed, and what seems to come naturally to one or the other person.

What Women Plan For

How are we to understand the fact that while almost three-fourths of American women are employed at some time in their lives, work does not figure in the life plan of most American girls? If high school girls are asked what they would like their lives to be when they grow up, their vision of the future in most cases is of living in a nice suburban home, married to a successful husband, and devoting the whole of their time to him and their children. Even most college girls view their academic studies as distracting from their main task of finding a husband and preparing for their real lives as mothers and wives. The reason is that, "Most young women in this country still cherish the fantasy of a marriage that will totally and automatically fulfill all emotional and intellectual needs, a fantasy that sets the stage for colossal disappointment, guilt and self-castigation when – as increasingly happens – marriage alone is not enough. So, too, most remain enormously ambivalent about the thought of working, to say nothing of finding a 'vocation' in work; and even those who secretly enjoy their jobs often find it easier to blame their extra-familial life on financial need than to admit, even to themselves, that they want or enjoy it. Although the

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dream-cottage with the built-in fulfilling wife-and-mother role has been destroyed by a changing society, most women cling tenaciously and sometimes defensively to this older image and blame themselves for the cracks in the picture window." [1]

The retreat from viewing work and profession as part of women's lives is also suggested by the fact that today a smaller proportion of college graduates are women than was true 30 years ago. One student of this problem says that "there are few Noras in contemporary American society because women have deluded themselves that the doll's house is large enough to find complete personal fulfillment within it."[2]

Beyond Motherhood

Now I am always suspicious if the protagonists of a cause say that those who are indifferent to the cause are deluding themselves. Often the truth of the matter is that far from deluding themselves, those others are meeting the problem of their lives in ways that seem more appropriate to them. Or perhaps more correctly, the problems of their lives are not quite what the leaders of the cause think they are. Maybe, in regard to preparing themselves for work or joining our intellectual leadership, American college women don't delude themselves at all, but simply know what they want, or want most – self-realization as wife and mother.

Nevertheless, many a suburban housewife, once she has found part of her self-realization in childbirth, feels that her life has become empty. The family simply does not provide enough of the stimulation, companionship or rewards that either the extended family or the work world provide. These women now permit themselves to recognize that if they are to realize fully their existence as persons they need, in addition to being mothers, to contribute meaningfully to society. They then may resume their education or may enter or re-enter a profession if they have the ability and wherewithal to do so. If not, they may settle uneasily for the less rewarding outlets of community activities or working for good causes. Or they may simply live out their lives as best they can, trying to fill a void, by some dimly felt, by others acutely, with cultural pursuits.

Once the children are no longer infants, mothers tend to work just as long hours as their ancestors did. But chauffeuring one's children to parties or to the dentist, or even attending civic meetings is emotionally less rewarding than her economic contributions of an earlier day. Though less physically fatiguing, it is more frustrating emotionally. Being a full-time wife and mother is not in and by itself absorbing or rewarding enough to fill out 30 or more years of a woman's life, unless she has a large number of children. As a consequence women often invest over-heavily in their husbands and children, for which emotional expenditure they expect to be compensated. Yet since husband and children have no parallel need to overinvest emotionally in mother, they cannot and do not wish to meet her demands. The emotional conflict that results is destructive to the well being of all.

This is why I do not believe that dividing woman's life into three parts – before marriage, when children are small, and the period after children are adolescent – is any solution to women's problems.

It is not that our girls do not suspect their lives may be less than satisfying once their children are away from home most of the time. It is not that they lack some inkling that a husband who spends 80 percent of his waking hours away from home "earning a living" may not satisfy all their desires for companionship in the little time he does spend at home. But with rare exceptions the work life that seems open today to women is so organized that it will interfere with the self-realization they must have in being a wife

[1] Ellen and Kenneth Keniston, "An American Anachronism: The Image of Women and Work," *The American Scholar* (Summer, 1964).

[2] Alice S. Rossi, "Equality Between the Sexes: An Immodest Proposal," *Daedalus* (Spring, 1964).

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and becoming a mother. So they quiet the voice that tells them that children in infancy offer little companionship, and that once the children are older, they will seek that companionship not in the home, with their mother, but outside and away. Later on it will be her desire for casual companionship, free of the too deep emotional demands that the small middle-class family makes on its members, which will drive her to seek paid or voluntary work. By then she will often have by-passed the chance to prepare herself for work which in addition to the companionship it offers could also be meaningful in itself.

The Confining Dollhouse

I hope I have made clear by now why so many educated women prefer Nora's world to that of the suffragette. The first is at least clearly connected with the specific female means to self-realization. The second has too many negative elements, namely of fighting for a chance at the male way of achieving. But a doll's house is no home for man, woman or children. Just as the doll house existence prevents woman from reaching full growth because it secludes her from the mainstream of society, so it stunts a man's growth because it is not a setting where he can find fulfillment as a husband and father in a male way. That such a setting interferes with children's gaining autonomy goes without saying.

Why then do women select this existence? Because they recognize, I believe, that restrictive and stunting as it is, such a life comes closer to a chance for their self-realization as women than would competing with men in the work-world as we know it today. That world hardly allows for self-realization in men; it does so even less for women.

What is needed, I believe, is not sex equality in work and home, as some advocate; not participation by women on an equal basis in activities considered masculine; but the creation of work and working conditions that permit men and women full self-realization in both the social and the work spheres of life. As far as women are concerned, such activities will have to be geared as much to their wish to continue being wives and mothers, as to their inclinations, their talents, and to their physiological and psychological make-up.

What is wrong is that women today are expected to enter man's working world as men, so to speak. They have all too little chance to enter a world that is at least as organized for the requirements of working women as for the requirements of the machine, or technology, or a science whose requirements are viewed as independent of the inner needs of the men and women who pursue them. And since most machines were invented by men, work around them is organized more in line with men's working needs than women's, though they are little enough in accord with even men's human requirements.

All this is sometimes obscured, because there are always a few women who manage to find a personal solution by proving to themselves and others that they can beat men at their own game; as I suspect that there are some men who find self-realization by making women's way their own. But this works only for a few, and usually at a price.

How then would our society have to reorganize to permit self-realization to both men and women?

I have alluded before to how the women of the *kibbutz* came to feel that what is necessary is not to work just like men, but only that their work contribution should be as significant to the general well being as that of the men. I believe that this realization came about because *kibbutz* life did away with the split between work and home. Women could give up the desire to work like men where the work of men and women proceeds in such proximity. Where women are so intimately part of the men's work, and men of women's work, the split I spoke about does not exist.

Thus a most important first step would be to organize society so that this split can be undone. I cannot foresee the technological and economic adjustments that such a change would require. Certainly it would call for a loosening up of the workday, such as permitting working mothers to nurse their infants several times a day when they are small, and later to be home when children return from school, to get time off when children are sick, and similar arrangements.

No doubt it would also require a family's living much closer to the working place of both men and women. It would probably call for more diversified land use and an end to the segregation of residential tracts from all other human activities. Even more important would be the rebuilding of cities to make city life once again attractive as a place to raise families. The move to the suburbs will not be stopped as long as they offer surroundings that are more attractive for raising children. But these are small beginnings.

Doing Two Jobs

What I consider the essential problem confronting women today is the lack of social arrangements that would enable them to work or to pursue a career without themselves or their children paying too high a price.

Here, a final reference to the *kibbutzim*. These are agricultural settlements in a poor and beleaguered country, devoid of natural resources. Yet here it was found possible to have the mothers of infants work only four hours a day and to increase this slowly, first to six and only finally to eight. And these mothers live in a setting where they

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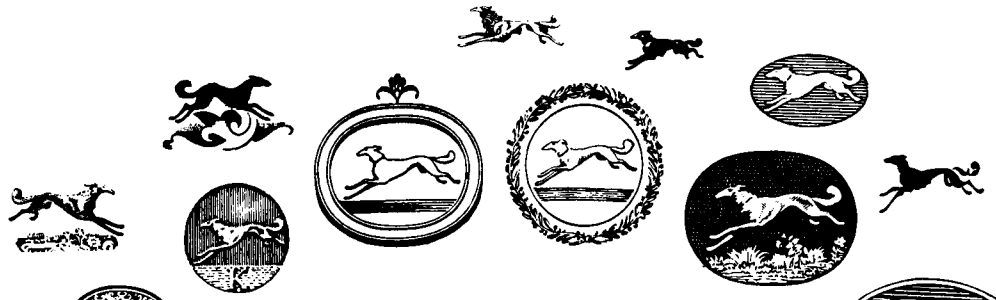

It is impossible for any publisher to claim all the good books

or even a major part of the good books that appear in any one season or over the years. All he can hope for is to publish a reasonable number of really distinguished and – if he is to remain in business – reasonably salable books.

It has been our good fortune since we founded the Borzoi in 1915 to become the American publisher of a number, a considerable number, of very distinguished writers from all parts of the civilized world.

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Blanche W. Knopf *Alfred A. Knopf*

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need to spend no time at all in traveling to and from work, in shopping or other errands, and where their children are cared for by special caretakers. If this is possible in one of the poorest of countries, the richest country in the world should be able to make at least as generous arrangements for working mothers.

But to do so we must start with the realization that these are first and foremost *mothers*. In thinking about working mothers the attitude seems to be that it is their motherhood that must somehow be fitted into their working life. *Kibbutz* thinking started out this way, but soon learned that it had to go the other way around. Here, the attitude is that motherhood must somehow be made to fit into the requirements of work. Knowing that this runs counter to their natural desires, women give up trying to fit work into their prime concern with motherhood. Well-intentioned efforts to encourage women to complete their education, or to return to work after their children are fairly grown only sidesteps the issue, because it starts out with the assumption that work and motherhood are not really compatible. And they are not, unless work and child care are so arranged that neither childhood nor motherhood suffers.

This would require as a minimum: shorter working hours for mothers of young children, work close to their home, excellent professional care for their children during the first four and later six hours these women will spend on the job away from home, and, as I have said, a ready availability of the mother to her children in cases of emergency.

Such arrangements will presuppose an entirely different attitude toward work. It will require that we free ourselves of the idea that this is still a life where we are still just a hair's breadth away from starvation. Since the beginning of time man has lived in scarcity. Now modern technology has done away with scarcity, or could potentially do so. But scarcity thinking dies slow.

Humanizing Work

Let me illustrate with the fetish of efficiency. It was the efficiency of modern technology that made us rich. But now that we are rich, we need not sacrifice to this god anymore. We can afford to take our work more leisurely. If we do, we will not need to escape it or fight for shorter hours and more leisure time that we do not know how to fill. When labor is back-breaking, no point in stretching it out; the sooner it is completed, the better. But labor need not be back-breaking anymore. Nor need it be monotonous, if we do not sacrifice to efficiency at all costs. By using our full potential of workers, male and female, young and old, we could produce all the goods and services they could reasonably require. We could do it by making allowances for the need to humanize work: by making it companionable, non-exhausting, diversified and satisfying in itself, beyond the wages it brings. If we do this, we shall also have gone a long way toward controlling the population explosion. Women who

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find satisfaction in work will not have to produce large numbers of children as their only means of satisfaction. It is not the working woman who sets six or more children into the world.

New Freedoms

Radical as are the changes in attitude I am suggesting, they are only the first steps in the humanization of work that modern technology permits. They are only preconditions for the most important change of all; to arrange work in line with the psychological nature of man which, at different times of his life, is very different. Thanks to mass production and automation, we have new freedoms now, in arranging our work in line with an individual's age group and sex. Most people find that the same work, after a number of years, becomes monotonous, however intrinsically interesting at first. They find excitement in changing the nature of their work after the old activity has gone stale. Also, there is a character and rhythm of work that comes naturally to a young person, and entirely different work that comes naturally to an old one. There is work that comes naturally to a young woman before she has borne her own children, other work that suits her best when her children are young, and still other work when her children are grown.

But there is another human dimension to work that we have only begun to recognize. Erikson has recently brought to our attention that psychological investigation in depth corroborates the age-old feeling that men and women are drawn to master different areas of living. Women feel more comfortable in dealing with problems of life that unfold within well-defined space, are masters in exploring and fulfilling the requirements of living within an "inner space" of experience. Men are equally beholden to mastery of external spaces (which only incidentally includes stellar space) but pertains chiefly to mastery over nature at large.[3]

Our present work arrangements do not do justice to man's specific genius for conquering, changing, adapting nature to his needs, for pushing open new frontiers. Certainly they do not do justice to woman's specific genius for nurturing, humanizing, preserving. American society needs a new ordering of life where in all spheres, the domestic as well as the social world at large, these specific endowments of the sexes are encouraged to influence the flavor of all human activities.

If we are not to stunt our very best human qualities, work must be geared to the most intrinsic qualities we have, and not to how houses can be built most cheaply, or how to run most efficiently our hospitals or classrooms, or how to build freeways. The truest productivity – as opposed to mere efficiency – means that working arrangements must start out from these deepest needs of men because they alone make him most creative and productive at the same time. Turning to narrower tasks, I might mention some immediate adjustments that we can make if we are serious about occupations and professions being part of woman's life.

For one thing, our communal life will have to be reorganized. We cannot expect women to participate actively in many of the voluntary associations that now occupy so much of their days and also expect them to work and to be mothers and wives. It is accepted that the man's work-a-day life occupies him enough that he has little time for such outside activities. At least the same must be true for women, if not more so. And if much of the work now done by our voluntary and charitable organizations should then be professionalized, it will only improve their contributions to society while creating new occupations for men and women.

Changes likewise will have to be made in the working or studying conditions of married women at the college and graduate school level. Their education must be so arranged as to make it not only possible, but attractive for them to go to school, and at hours and a rate of progress that do not interfere with their family concerns. Married women should be encouraged to take only one course at a time and to spread their training out over many years. At present, there is a predominant disposition to consider students who do not concentrate on their studies full time as not serious. Indeed society at large will not be ready to make the appropriate arrangements I suggest until we in our universities show the way, until we exercise leadership in rearranging *our* world so that the split is undone between work and home.

For the present, women seem to shun certain careers such as medicine and physics. This they do, I think, because they realize that at this moment in our history medicine and physics do not lend themselves too well to combining motherhood and work. Interestingly enough, it is the writings of some professional women, such as psychiatrists, that stress motherhood to the exclusion of a professional life. Contradicting as it does the life chosen by the authors themselves, it adds further to women's confusion about chances for combining the two. But this need not be.

Value of Intimacy

Here where I am talking of a profession I know, perhaps I can offer an example. I remember well our family doctor, his intimate knowledge of our family life, the immediate feeling for how it unfolded. All this he came to know from his home visits over the years. But I

[3] E. Erikson, "Reflections on Womanhood," *Daedalus* (Spring, 1964).

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remember too that as a child of four I was very sick and was rushed to his office where he instantly bedded me down on the couch of his living room, adjacent to his office. In his own home he cared for me for four days and nights, going back and forth between me and his consulting room till the danger was passed. It was not a very antiseptic setting, nor would we consider it very professional now.

But I do know what I gained in psychoanalysis because the treatment room of my analyst was part of his home. I can only fathom what he gained from the arrangement by being spared the wear and tear of commuting to an office and having to spend most of his waking time in so impersonal a setting.

Family Doctor

I do not offer this example as a model for direct imitation. I realize that modern medical care needs the equipment, the arrangement, the cooperation of specialists that only the modern physician's office can provide. But with medical care tending more and more toward specialization, there is now need for a new specialty: the family doctor who makes mainly home visits, knows the home and family setting, and the particular stresses of each member of the family. Such a doctor would work in close coordination with the medical specialists who because of the equipment they need must work in offices, clinics and hospitals. Perhaps we have here an instance of how the female genius for caring and the male genius for exploring – traits to be found in both sexes – can work together best. Such collaboration, I admit, may seem less efficient than what we do now. But it might well be more effective in saving lives, and would certainly permit all to work in a more leisurely way and with greater personal satisfaction.

I am struck by reports I have read about psychiatric services in the Russian community. It is claimed that the Russians are more successful in what might be called preventative psychiatry – in the early return of mental patients to their homes and communities and in helping them to make a go of it there. I do not know how correct these reports are. But it is true that the psychiatrists in their community clinics spend one day a week in the local schools, visiting teachers and children, and devote another full day every week to home visits. I have no doubt that because of this they know a great deal more about their patients than if they saw them only in an office. Perhaps the prevalence of such arrangements in Russia, and their absence in this country, has something to do with the much higher percentage of women doctors in Russia than we have here.

Among American women who enter the professions, only a small percentage have been entering physics or business administration – both of them conquering or manipulating professions. By contrast, a slightly higher percentage of women than men plan to study the humanities, and women now predominate among those planning to enter education (59 percent), social work (69 percent) and even more so in such nurturing occupations as nursing and occupational therapy (78 percent). Instead of drawing the obvious conclusions – that these occupations are attractive to women because they are in line with their specific genius and because such careers do not interfere too much with marriage and motherhood – some students of the problem conclude that it is a trend to be combated.

Recognizing Sex Differences

For example, we are told these days that such a range of choices is due to "sex-role stereotypes" and that the elementary school system should "eradicate these stereotypes and help instead in the development of a more androgynous conception of sex role." [4] Can we blame our educated women if they prefer a suburban existence to a hermaphroditic one? If these are the choices, isn't the first a healthier one?

But why should our choices be so restricted? If we look at how curriculums are organized in our schools or employment in our places of work, the basic philosophy seems to be that the working person is without sex, or that his sex may be ignored in planning his profession or work life. This, as I have tried to suggest, is bad for the male. But since pregnancy is not part of his physiological make up, and child care a much smaller part of his psychological need than in the female, he suffers less from such neglect of the essential nature of man. Moreover, while higher education at least permits the male to believe that by pursuing his studies he can become more of a man, that is not true for women.

I think that there are some stereotyped images that should undergo a change. This change should not be that our primers begin to show women truck drivers or riveters, but rather, for example, that not all doctors are male and that the need for the social worker is as urgent as that for the physician. It certainly should include showing men as teachers of young children. The issue is not that all occupations should be seen as suitable for men and women, but that the occupations that seem attractive to women show up no less glamorous or socially important than those that seem more suitable for men.

Most of all, some of our psychologists and psychiatrists – and those social scientists whom they unduly influence – will have to stop viewing the Victorian woman as the ideal female type, as the only mother who does not cheat her children out of motherlove.

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[4] Rossi, *loc. cit.*

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Youth: Opportunity To Be What?

by Robert Coles

Whatever the age of our nation and the growth of its problems and responsibilities, we as a people living now or about to live in the next few decades will be predominantly young. The statistics are impressive: one out of every three people in the United States was 17 or under in 1963; by 1965 it will be two out of five. All of which means there are 70 million people in this age group, 63 percent more than in 1947. For the last four years the number of 17 or younger has been increasing at 6.6 percent a year, 4.5 times as fast as the total growth of our population. Moreover, other statistics promise a continuation: the number of women aged 20 to 29 – the most vigorous child-bearing years – will nearly double in the next 25 years. The Census Bureau estimates a startling rise in the annual number of American children born. Four million are born each year now; by 1965 the figure will be six million.

Fortunately, a generation of restless observers has given us an astonishingly rich collection of information about young people as they variously live on this planet: the far-flung differences that characterize their growth and development; the immensely complicated matter of how their lives are influenced not only by the hands and belts of their parents, but their beliefs and dreams; the relationship between childhood and adolescence and the stubborn social, political and economic forces in a society which also help shape their nature and often neglect their special needs. We have, as a matter of fact, a proliferation of facts, experiments, "pilot projects" and "programs" which tell us a lot about such matters as how best to teach our children to read or learn foreign languages or mathematics. I am sure that as we put our minds to it, the general problems of a large youthful population will enlist more of such information and the "techniques" developed from it.

There is, however, an important distinction between a Great Society and a richly competent one. We can cram facts into our children, wipe out most of the diseases which weaken or cripple their bodies, even keep them busy and working as they become youths so that our unemployment figures nearly vanish (and simultaneously the crime which is related to idleness and a sense of futility) and still find a generation of young men and women with none of that spark of ethical concern which could be called "charity" in other times without embarrassment or the grim implications now attached to the word. Smug power and skill are not, I would imagine, what we have in mind when we try to reason and work our way toward a more responsible youth as a reflection of that same kind of society.

It is easy for some of us to define our goals for young people: they need more lively and daring schooling, better health than all too many of them seem likely to have, a sense of worth unqualified by the various irrelevancies hitherto so essential to it, the definite expectation of some

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kind of work which will be useful to all of us. Such goals are agreeable platitudes until any attempt even to begin realizing them confronts us with the tough resistance in our society to their transformation into practical realities. It is easier to talk about whether or not we should give the vote to the coming tide of young people, or debate the proper age for driving, or the locations for our modern school buildings.

Whose Youth?

Slum youths and middle-class ones both seem restless, and their lawlessness – each for its own reasons – draws an anxious, cumulative attention. We are beginning to realize that the very definition of "youth" is elastic. Whose youth? A Negro sharecropper's, which begins at 10 and ends at 15? A college student's, which at 21 may still have years of school days ahead? We are also beginning to realize that comfort and strength do not insure good sense in our young; and so we ask ourselves about the meaning of words like "maturity." Can we free it from its deadened, pompous abuse and give it a real meaning, describing young people who have found that leading their own lives need not demand either aimlessness or that total surrender to the past which some confuse with "growing up"?

Rigidities in our political and economic life may have prevented us from doing as much as we should for some of our youths, or enabling many others to offer their talents to some purpose, but the more kindly and level-headed of our specialists on the behavior of children have given us a storehouse of information about how children grow and what they need to feel strong and willing to take up their own lives.

We know, for instance, that individual discontent is part of growing, that rebelliousness in youth is to some extent natural, and that what is critically important is the way our society gives form to these psychological developments. A 10-year-old who at that age is a migrant farmer and a 25-year-old graduate student may both be going through the turmoil of saying goodbye to their parents, the confusion of greeting their own independence, with its promises and calls of duty, but clearly each will have his separate struggle in both form and content, in thought and action.

Nor are culture and class the sole determinants of the kinds of assumptions we are allowed or denied as we grow older. We live in time and space, and what is happening in world history, or where we live, not simply our country but the region of that country, affect our habits and beliefs. The problems facing American youth are thus not all of a kind, and the solutions to them will come from different directions. Laws of the greatest urgency will help some; other young people will need from their elders a kind of ethical example all too rare if they are to survive that poverty of ideals which defies our moral laws and sometimes helps keep much-needed written ones from coming about. There is no point in setting one kind of problem against another, one class against another.

What Poverty Means

One order of problems ahead is that of the badly educated, sickly, jobless young men and women whom we call "poor" or "disadvantaged." I shudder at those words. They are so abstract. They allow us to forget the individual lives of boys and girls who must grow in those grim, cheerless tenements, those dreary rural cabins, all of them smelling and hot in summer, chilling and drafty in winter. Writers like Orwell and Agee have tried desperately to shatter their reader's, their fellow man's, natural desire to shy away from the misfortune of the poor, only to acknowledge the near impossibility of the task. Perhaps statistics have some bit of strange and effective eloquence. If so, they are to be had in profusion: during this decade more than seven million young people will leave school without graduating, and one-third of them will have an eighth-grade education or less; one-third of the young men now turning 18 would be rejected by the Selective Service System if they were examined, half of them because they couldn't pass the mental examinations, the remainder because of failure to qualify physically; a study of youths actually rejected by their draft boards showed that 80 percent of them were school dropouts, nine percent had court records and 28 percent were unemployed.

Such are the lives which go to awful waste in a nation which offers millions of its youths a kind of experience new in history: the peculiarly ironic and unsettling one of living out an impoverished life in the midst of a country actually perplexed about what to do with its agricultural and industrial capacities. Under these circumstances poverty is not an unavoidable fact of the world, a shared struggle for an entire nation, but a matter of willful carelessness or dishonorable apathy for the majority of us who are comfortable. For those living the threadbare life of migrant farmers or sharecroppers, or attempting survival in the rat-infested ghettos of our cities it is almost a matter of being singled out for condemnation.

I suppose many of us imagine that children growing up under such conditions fail to get the point of their relative shame and humiliation. It is certainly easier for us to think of these young people as not only off yonder, but unaware of how arbitrary and needless their fate is. But in my experience even children of eight or ten can fathom their comparative social and economic situation. They see the world about them and draw the right conclu-

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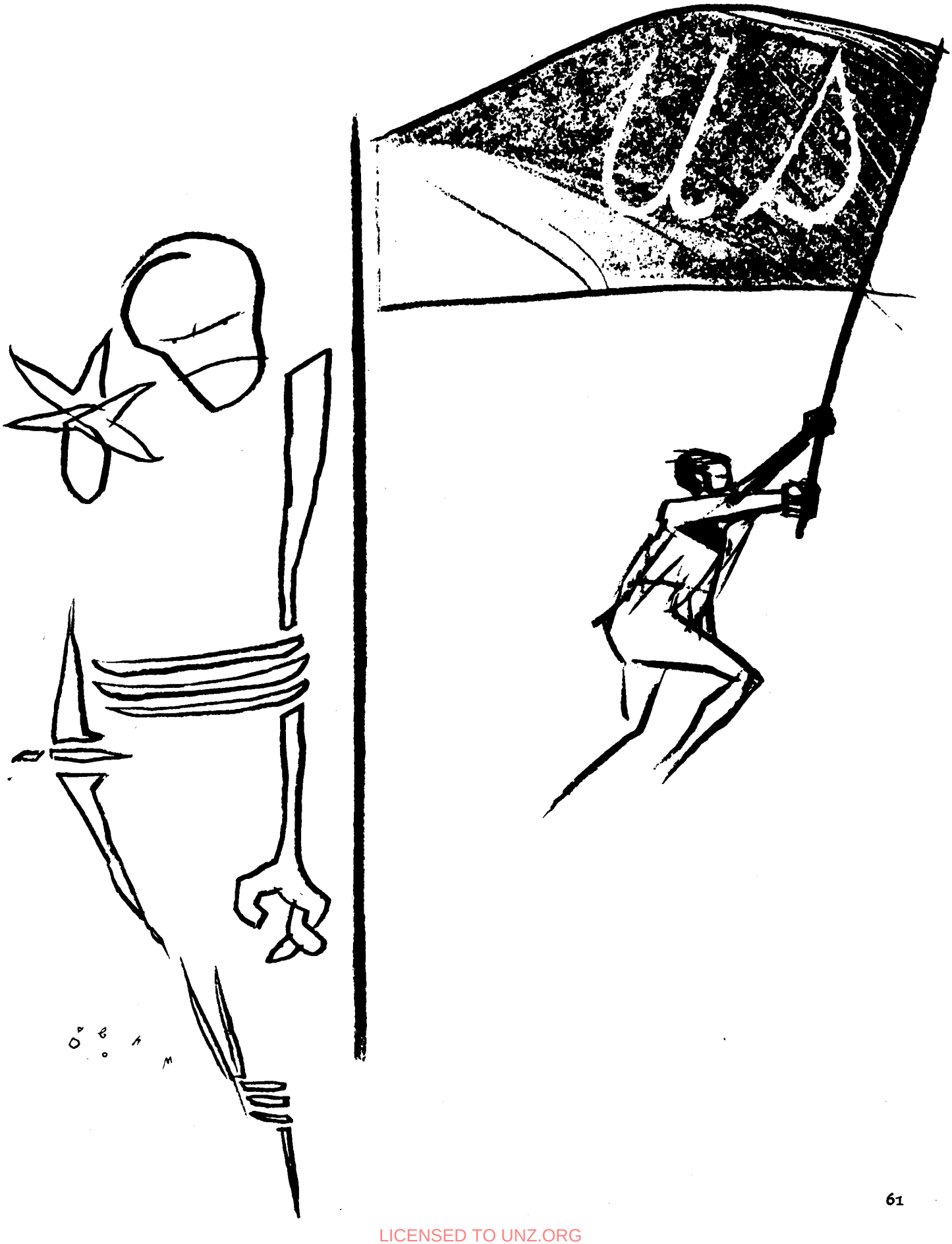

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sions, that they must live wastefully and meagerly, that their lot contrasts not with that of a few courtiers, but with that of most of their countrymen. A white boy of nine in the north Georgia foothills to the Appalachians said to me: "I'm sure glad I wasn't born colored, but to be rich I think I should have been born some other place." What he called rich could only be defined by the very real poverty of his family, and, for that matter, an entire region on which his town bordered. As for what I have heard these past years from Negro children, it has all been a forceful reminder of just how accurate the young can be about their world.

Empty Opportunity

What is crumbling in our country today is a caste system, and though sociologists have written at length on the subject in the past, the public does not have a clear idea of the critical differences between caste and class. When I hear from a Negro child whose parents are quite well off that he would forsake all his toys, all the advantages he enjoys in a private room of a comfortable home, for a lighter shade to his skin I know I am confronted with more than a problem of past mischief visited upon Negroes. Poor youths present one order of challenge to our nation; Negro youths all that and more. Thus many young people between 16 and 19 do not have an easy time finding work: in 1963, 17 percent of them were jobless – three times the average unemployment rate for the entire working population. For Negro youths, however, the figures are 27 percent for men, 35 percent for women. Since 1955 Negro youths have had to battle a steadily rising condition of unemployment, a far more intractable one than that facing our poorest whites. One penologist told me in the course of a discussion of the incidence of crime among Negro boys and girls, let alone young men and women – "it's probably the one kind of job a lot of them can get, stealing." Now, the effects of such relative hardship and idleness upon growing children are several. There is no use telling children growing up in *our* poverty that there is a tougher, more abased kind of existence in Asia or Africa, or that any bad luck here is really an impressive kind of good fortune. Children tantalized by an elusive, always present but always unobtainable abundance are children meanly treated. Additionally frustrating to jobless youth is a rhetoric constantly preached about the "freedom" and "opportunity" which our nation offers all its citizens. It offers both to many of us. Yet unemployed young people, between 16 and 24, now represent about one of every three unemployed workers in the US; and for the past five years the number of unemployed youths has drifted constantly upward.

I have recently begun talking with random youths seeking jobs to no avail, and with some people who work in the public and private employment agencies to which they go. I followed a few of these youths about as they tracked down one possible job after another from early morning until late in the afternoon. They were earnest, well-meaning lads. They wanted to work. They were not drifters, not hoods, not violent, not in the slightest interested in public welfare. They are teenagers, still hopeful, still determined. Underneath, though, they are tiring; and every once in a while in each of them I could see the sulky mood, the set face, the irritability that indicates rising frustration. The plain facts are that even the most menial jobs are sometimes unavailable, and good ones very hard to find for hundreds of thousands of young people all over the country. In time these youths will not only become older, but apathetic and finally inert. If they let it go at that, we will at least be unbothered by the sadness, the bafflement of their position; the hope they have surrendered, the ambition put aside, the trust lost. They will be good and law-abiding people, and if they live short, ailing lives, at least they will have the grace to stoop quietly out of our way. Only a few from the middle-class world will confront the slow wasting of such youths – teachers who will face their developing insensibility, public-welfare workers who will look at their shrugged passivity, their spiritless lives at a standstill.

While some youths lose any real voice of outrage fairly quickly, others manage their despair less responsibly – tough boys and girls who become the vicious youths of our slums. Confused, scared, and nasty, at 10 and 12, they are drinking, smoking, trying an assortment of narcotics, clinging to and seizing one another with that extreme hopelessness (and its expression in surly calculation) which we call "promiscuity." They will not let us overlook them so easily. They provoke us and eventually anger us enough to want away with them.

With determination we can forget them, the ill-favored. There are so many of us who are comfortable, and clearly so out of our own efforts, our parents' efforts, that any who still lag behind must be shirkers or truants. It is certainly no empty talk which recalls how hard millions in our middle class have struggled to achieve their present life, or to hand it down, in all its improvement upon their own, to their children.

The Deprived Affluent

In the face of such events there is a terrible irony in the troublesome, almost scoffing return many middle-class families seem to be getting for all that effort: a constantly rising incidence of suburban delinquency; the continued evidence in our finest suburbs of mindless and sometimes even brutishly criminal behavior; the appearance of

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enough dulled and blasé youths to make it clear that a father's social and economic success does not automatically become his children's integrity; the widespread and bewildering outbreaks of riots – on beaches, in parks, on campuses – which in their vicious, destructive, and even carefully-planned quality have marked themselves off from the casual and humorous "panty raids" of the past.

Uneasy Materialism

Any discussion of American youth must take all this into account. Some critics of democratic liberalism have done so, reminding people who have worked for social and economic reform that they have been guilty of a naïve utopianism. After all, the proof is in – when people are no longer poor or exiled, they are still unhappy, and their children even more so. Of course such criticism often starts with a distortion of what the reformist leaders or thinkers had in mind in the first place. No better example is that of the fate of psychoanalysis in America. Freud's struggle for an awareness which would enable men to be more clear-headed, more alive to themselves, was meant to be a helpful start, and just that, for many people to realize possibilities in themselves previously curbed by a variety of fears. Instead, his ideas, humble in their reservations about human beings, guarded in their forecast about man's lot on this planet, were embraced and twisted into a promised land where the analyzed would dwell in restful, unafraid bliss. Well, the foolish arrogance of such hopes deserves condemnation, and with it a warning of the biological and existential facts of human existence, which guarantee a fair share of trouble and pain for all of us, at least on this earth.

Much more important than condemnation, however, is an attempt to discover why people (if they do) imagine that such developments as social-welfare legislation or psychoanalysis will guarantee an absence of problems or tasks in the home or the community. If some liberals once had such notions, they have no doubt long since been disabused. It is, rather, many who are not so much liberal or conservative, or political in any real sense – their ideology is associated with successful membership in our uncertain and widespread middle classes – who continue to operate under various forms of what might better be called uneasy materialism than naïve liberalism. The liberals hope to vote a better kind of material life for all, hoping that such a struggle will contribute toward a more ethical life as well by its very example and influence. When they are disappointed, some of them turn on those who continue to urge, for different reasons, a more decent existence for those in need of it. The sad truth often is that, like characters out of Verga's stories, finally affluent but disenchanted, they fail to realize the continuing insecurity of their acquisitive success.

How About Delinquency

Crime statistics released by the FBI show that teenagers account for 63 percent of all arrests for car thefts – indeed 88 percent of all such thieves arrested are under 25. Then, we are told that for all criminal acts, excluding traffic offenses, the arrests of youths under 18 increased by four percent in 1963. In suburban areas the increase in general teenage criminality was 15 percent. That is not all. For the crimes of homicide, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny and auto theft, young people of 18 or under accounted for 46 percent of all arrests in 1963. In the suburbs the rate was 51 percent. Finally, in the first six months of 1964 serious crime increased 15 percent over the same period of 1963; but in the suburbs the increase was 23 percent.

What are we to do with such information? Scream that all those children are spoiled, that they have failed us? Or look more closely at ourselves and what has happened in too many homes between us and our children? Amid the din of parents telling themselves and one another how very much they give, and work hard to give, their children, how pivotal the concern they have for their children's welfare, the ungracious response of those children seems like an incredible betrayal indeed; until, that is, one begins to listen to some of these parents – and their children – in courts, child guidance clinics, school counseling offices, or the deans' and doctors' offices of some of our colleges. I have treated some of these parents and some of their children, and a sad spectacle it sometimes is by the time some delinquency or symptom in one or the other forces the issue to a crisis. There are the parents who have spent their lives accumulating money, property, fine homes in the "best" neighborhoods (with, of course, excellent schools) and all of it "for the sake of the children." Many of them are quite helpless before their children, quite afraid to say no to them on any count. Frankly, some of the stories are at once chilling and tragic, instances as they are of how adults can use children to rationalize their own worries and greed.

Children and Parents

The reactions of the children to such parents are, of course, various. It may sound incredible to your ears, but I have heard some white youths from our most exclusive towns on the Eastern seaboard wish that they were Negro students in the civil-rights movement. Their envy is directed toward those who have infinitely less, but apparently more.

One of the real troubles – apart

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from space – with any case presentation to illustrate some of these problems is the near-impossible task of doing justice to behavior as it develops over time. There we sit, in those staff conferences, talking about a good deed by a youth or his parents, but the truth of how our lives are lived (and problems brought about) often defies the generalizations and explanations we summon. We can all scorn blundering parents in their last desperate indulgences with their children before the onset of trouble. Yet in listening to these cases unfold in their knotty untidiness, one more likely than not discovers that a final, alien offense done by a youth may crown years of subtle handiwork by parents aided by an entire society in the sense of the doctrines and values it may teach to those parents. We all look for specific wrongdoing – it is easier for us to live with that kind of explanation – but the drift of a nation and its individual mothers and fathers accounts for a good deal of what happens to our youth.

A Visible Future

No people should know this better than we who have lived in this century, who have witnessed millions of youthful minds and bodies become willing, heroic cannon fodder for the cruelest of political systems and the weirdest of ideologies. Totalitarianism has not merely exploited the vulnerability of youth, but used youth's search for ideals to elicit a passionate kind of zeal from it. Young people hunger after their birthright, a visible future, and they are keen to sense from their parents and the world around them the possibilities and desirabilities of that future. We have seen that other youth are not immune to the blandishments of war and terror in the pursuit of a destiny for themselves; and I fear we are now seeing that our own youth will not easily resist a cult of private sunshine, and secluded complacency which denies them a capacity or freedom for sympathy, fellowship and compassion for others. Is it any wonder that when many of these young people turn away from the elegant, prodigal world which is their inheritance they find themselves drawn into spiteful, step-on-the-gas scrambles? It is a shame, and particularly so when one hears many of these youths crying for a different, a more ordered and kindly life for themselves and for their often careless or frantic parents.

It is said so often, but still needs saying, that most youths remain faithful, directly or in a wayward, petulant fashion, to the values and ideals, or lack of them, of their parents. If we are at present appalled at a soaring, reckless criminality in our middle-class children, it is likely we are really appalled at what has happened to ourselves, because much of what horrifies us is our own assumptions and actions come to expression and perpetuation by those who know us best and are our most eager followers.

Of course, bored, self-centered and mean parents can be rejected by their children too. No one familiar with how families work can declare out of hand a series of universally applicable rules about how the human mind can acquit itself in its progressive encounters with the fateful chances and opportunities of the world. However, a society determined upon a set of ways can hardly expect them to be ignored by its young people, and the odds are heavy that most of them will take up their social legacy.

The Community Example

Facing this nation is the matter of real commitment to its ideals. In the thirties a near disaster forced us to take stock of one another and try to harness an economy previously expanding but in a very real sense going nowhere. Without sensible and merciful action then, Lord knows where a hungry and dazed people might have turned its eyes. Then came two decades of having to contend with countries who had indeed turned their eyes elsewhere, and in terrible directions at that. All the while our children have been growing and I suspect all the while responding to our vexing attempts to settle upon some fair goals for all citizens in this country and for this rich land in its relationship to so many poorer ones.

It has been painful, and we have made errors, just as growth involves pain and results in errors. I have been saying that much of our ambiguity of conviction and direction has now come to haunt us, picked up by our youth and, so to speak, thrown in our faces. That there is courage and idealism in our young men and women must also be said, not as an oratorical flourish to enable us to forget the very serious problems we must solve, but as a happy but urgent reminder that those men and women in the Peace Corps or working at civil rights or simply living out their youthful days in study, work and growing need every bit of reinforcement we can all manage for them.

Once and for all we must realize that the life of the child's mind lives intimately with the life of our society. If the medical and social sciences have taught us anything, it is that. The problem then is not only what we will do with this or that piece of legislation, but what continuing example in our social, political and economic life we will set for our children, hopefully knowing that our standards will establish the basis for their future deeds.

The hearts of children can die, their minds close tight, at any age, even though their bodies live out the years allotted them. A Great Society will seek after justice for all its members so that they will live rather than exist, and with them the society itself.

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Over Sixty-five: Beyond the Merely Bearable

by Helen Hill Miller

The aged of AD 2000 are this year's high school graduates. The babies of our postwar baby boom, already the youth crowding the labor market of the 1960's, will be eligible for social security. If their life in 2000 is to be more than just bearable, less than 40 years remain in which to make some radical changes.

By 2000, ours will be a five-generation society. Practically all children will know their greatgrandmothers and their greatgrandfathers; to many, their great-greats will be flesh and blood rather than names in a genealogical record.

Dental and ophthalmological outpatient clinics may by then have ameliorated the Melancholy Jacques' description of the last stage of life: "second childhood, and mere oblivion, sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything," but unless much more is done the number who, "by reason of strength . . . be fourscore years" will have greatly increased by the year 2000, and it will still be true to say, "yet is their strength labor and sorrow."

What are the prospects for the aged? The massiveness of the problem is underlined by estimates that place the population aged 65 and over in the year 2000 somewhere between 29.5 and 35.2 million, as contrasted with slightly less than 16.5 million in 1960. For many, even supposing the usual age of retirement stays closer to where it is now than seems likely in an automating society, retirement will last as long or longer than the average person's life. The 1960 population included over 10,000 centenarians.

The change has come upon everyone unexpectedly. The US has always placed its accent on youth – a young country populated by young people. As a result, little is accurately known about what an aged person is. The Veterans Administration has just completed a comprehensive study, to parallel its medical records, of 18,000 Spanish-American War veterans who are 85 and over, and is making arrangements with the United Auto Workers Union for a comparable analysis of its 15,000 members in the same age category. The National Institutes of Health have established an Aging Program in the Institute of Child Health and Human Development. Geriatrics is a new medical specialty, supplanting an earlier medical school attitude that went little beyond the prescription of "just keep 'em comfortable."

For future planning, the question basic to all others is: How long are Americans of the next generation going to live? This century, they have been living much longer than they used to – life expectancy at birth was 69.7 years in 1960 as contrasted with 54.1 years in 1920. But does that necessarily mean that the life span is extending? Doctors disagree. One AMA past president believes that if people learned to live right, and did so, a ripe old age might in a few generations approach 150 years. Other MD's and researchers doubt whether there can be any great extension of the life span in the near future. They em-

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phasize that more and more people are living to advanced ages rather than dying young. The life expectancy of a 65-year-old, 14.5 years in 1960, has increased by only 3 or 4 years since the turn of the century.

Decreased mortality in the early years of life has been due to a reduction, and in some cases near-elimination of specific diseases such as diphtheria or tuberculosis, and wider application of new knowledge of child care and preventive medicine.

Causes of Death

Deaths due to two specific killers are still high and rising. Malignant neoplasms – cancer, to the man in the street – and cardiovascular ailments, are now the ranking cause of death. A breakthrough before 2000 that would sharply reduce mortality from cancer is a distinct possibility; there is at present a marked difference between men's and women's death rates from this cause, which helps explain the increasing ratio of women to men among the aged. Reduction of cardiovascular deaths from circulatory problems due to coagulation – strokes and coronaries resulting from blood clots – seems probable in the short run, but in cases where changes in blood vessels are indicative of long-developing alterations in the structure of the body organism, the discovery of drugs that will dissolve out the accumulation of years without wrecking the rest of the machine is a difficult one.

As mortality from specific infections is reduced, more and more deaths will be due to the general process of deterioration over time, and here our knowledge is scanty and its development not too likely to produce fast results.

At the Baltimore City Hospital, a doctor is in the sixth year of testing 500 fairly high-level professional retirees ranging in age from the fifties to 103, all of whom are actively occupied. The Veterans Administration is in the fifth year of a 35-year study of 11,000 males to establish a normative aging pattern – medical, biological, psychological and psychiatric.

Considerable laboratory research is concentrating on cellular physiology; the dilemma of such investigation is the necessity of confining it, thus far, to very simple organisms, whereas the biggest changes occur in highly complex structures. Breakdown of the coordinating mechanisms that keep organic systems working together may possibly be due to accumulations of misinformation in the genetic coding transmitted to cells as they divide. Changes in the fibrous connective tissue holding together cellular body components interfere with normal cell functions and produce disruptive cross-linkages. The results are similar to the distortions in the functioning of a computer that can be caused by damaged templates.

No disease state is peculiar to the elderly, but the harboring of a multiplicity of disease states is characteristic. The effects in old age of trauma due to disease in younger years are therefore being examined; the effect of radiation, for instance, is known to be cumulative.

Over the last years, various kinds of degeneration have been compensated for by external appliances – hearing aids, etc. With large populations so equipped, gerontologists notice a decrease in the attitude expressed by the doggerel:

Old age is golden, so I've heard said,
But sometimes I wonder when I get into bed,
With my ear in a drawer and my teeth in a cup
My eyes on the table until I wake up.
As sleep dims my eyes I say to myself,
Is there anything else I should lay on the shelf?

Internal renewal of deteriorated portions of the body has also advanced. Transplantation of crucial organs – hearts or kidneys – or their replacement by artificial devices has made gains that are now limited less by the technique of performing such operations than by postoperative rejection of the inserts as foreign matter by the rest of the body.

As medical advances provide better health among the aged, what changes in social preconceptions regarding old age are likely to accompany them? Until lately, all persons who have passed retirement age have tended to be lumped together in popular thinking, even though their ages cover the same span of years which separates the 20 and the 60 year olds in the work force.

Kinds of Aged

Taking this into account, specialists now divide the aged into at least three sub-groups: the young aged, 55-70, many of whom enjoy good health, travel, buy boats, go to Florida or California in the winter; the middle-aged aged, who have a good deal of chronic illness, can't drive a car anymore, need special housing and community arrangements; and the aged-aged, whose incapacities require the care that accompanies terminal illness.

By 2000, there will be one retired person 65 or over for every five in the productive labor force. The younger among this elderly group (say, 65 to 75), will be much more able-bodied than the same age group is today. What will society expect of them? The able-bodied unemployed in the work force of 1964 are not regarded as a social asset. Will the unproductiveness of the able-bodied retired person be similarly regarded tomorrow?

Much counseling is now provided by corporations, unions, voluntary agencies about planning for retirement, but it is so far unaccompanied by social pressure on retired persons

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to make constructive use of their time and calling them Senior Citizens won't help. As the century goes on, society's pessimistic approach to how citizens spend their retirement, its present attitude of saying "Good for you!" when an older person lives creatively, ought to be supplanted by the question: "If not, why not?"

The American society is going to be a great one for the aged, only if in 2000 they aren't living on incomes like their present averages. One in six of the 18 million persons 65 and over now receives public assistance; nearly 70 percent have incomes of between one dollar and $3,000.

Past Earnings

All estimates of how the aged will live a few decades hence must also take into account the change in educational attainment in recent years. Among the group reaching 18 in 1960, only 10.7 percent had stopped school with eight grades or less of elementary education; 43 percent had completed high school, and 18 percent had already had some college work. Among persons 65-69 that year, 66 percent had no more than an 8th-grade education; only 10.5 percent had completed high school; only 9.4 percent had had college work. This difference in schooling will have some practical effects on all aspects of the life of the elderly. In earning power, the outgoing and the incoming generation of workers are very different, and their social security checks will reflect the difference.

Current wage levels, in comparison with the depression years when the social security system was inaugurated, are likewise shifting the bulk of social security recipients up the benefit scale. A greater entry of women, especially those past 40, into the labor force increases the number of wives and widows entitled to their own primary benefits. If the Employment Opportunity Act breaks the cycle of poverty inherited from one generation to the next, the disadvantaged group that now constitutes somewhere between 15 and 20 percent of the population may be reduced to perhaps 5 percent.

Further, biennial improvement of the social security system in election years is coming to be generally accepted. And as the aged gain in numbers, they are likely to benefit themselves financially through the vote. Voter turnout increases with educational level; voter participation is distributed along an age curve that rises sharply from 35 to a peak between 60 and 65, then gradually declines to level off around 80. Concentration of the aged in the big states – 1.7 million in New York, 1.5 million in California, and over a million in both Pennsylvania and Illinois as of 1960 – adds to the political weight of the aged. It is worth noting that this year's social security amendments proposed raises for the aged and for adult public assistance recipients, but no new funds for dependent children. A good-sized political problem of the Great Society may indeed be a conflict of generations – more medicare *versus* schools, for instance. Many communities have already seen school bond issues defeated by voters whose children are grown, and some have set up compensatory, differential tax rates for the elderly.

Varied programs to distribute farm surpluses – school lunches, food stamps, food for peace – are now accepted as desirable means of getting into use the yield of US agriculture. These programs were justified on the ground that a farmer cannot let his fields lie idle without deterioration, even though they produce more than the normal market mechanism will distribute; industrial counterparts were held to be unnecessary because a businessman could stop his factory wheels when their turnout reached the point of non-profitability.

But automation may upset this argument. Neither corporation boards nor the American people would be willing to limit performance of the industrial part of the economy to what could be absorbed by the purchasing power distributed as salaries and wages to the work force, if large numbers of people are eliminated by automation. The time may be nearing when new means of supplying purchasing power to persons not in the labor force may be needed to keep the wheels turning.

Automation and high technology management are likewise altering our concept of retirement. Ever since the Pilgrim Fathers, the Puritan ethic with regard to work has dominated American life: Satan was known to trap the idle-handed, leisure was a foppery of the idle rich. Earlier, few men lived to the age of retirement, and many were engaged in farming or other self-employment in which no compulsory cut-offs exist. In recent decades, retirement has come upon many corporate employees, whether in executive suites or on assembly lines, as a shock. How great a shock? Suicide rates for white males tell us something: they peak in the post-retirement brackets. In 1962, as against a suicide rate of 10.9 per 100,000 for the poplation as a whole, the white male figures were 41.3 for those between 65-74; 57.1 between 75-84, and 61.5 for those 82 and over. The man who has nothing to do, and then gets sick, may not see what he has to live for. Comparably, the white female's much lower suicide rate peaks in the 45-54- and 55-64-year-old brackets, when and after she undergoes the physiological change of menopause and enforced retirement from her child-rearing job.

Preparing for Leisure

In the society of the 1960's more and more people are not doing the same thing all their working lives. Many firms provide, insist on, in-service training, study courses, seminars for executives, even sabbaticals.

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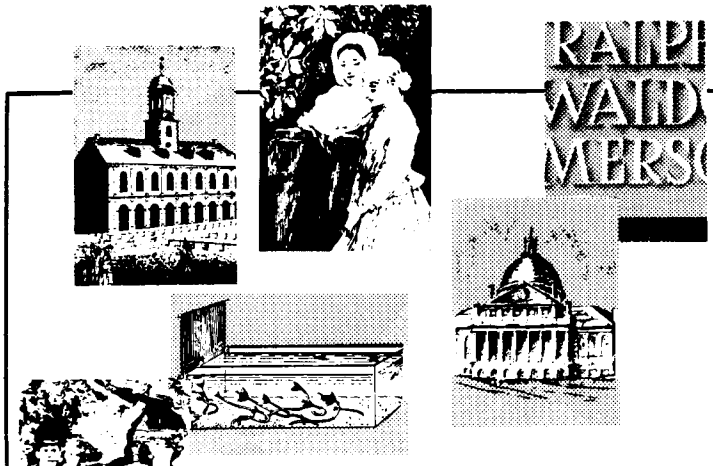

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The United Steel Workers Union contracts now include 13-week blocks of time off for workers with given amounts of seniority – a study is projected to see how the first group of 30,000 to 40,000 used their time. Shorter work weeks are providing millions with more off-job time on a weekly basis, and even when the time off is used for moonlighting it increases versatility and recognition of the validity of part-time employment.

Good-sized categories of workers – firemen, policemen, members of the armed services most of all, finish their stint in their forties and are shifting to a second career at about the age that many housewives are turning to paid work outside the home. With teacher shortages from kindergarten to postgraduate school, openings in education are many; just-retired members of one college faculty are increasingly invited to serve for a period of years on another faculty. Twenty-eight percent of the men, and 10 percent of the women 65 and over – about three million people – work for pay, and many others engage in volunteer activities in their communities. A glance at the section of the Sears Roebuck catalog headed *Hobbies* shows how Americans of all ages invest in equipment to do something other than what they do for a living – and they do it with a competence that is often professional.

As the clear-cut distinction between work and non-work disappears for those assorted causes, the sharpness of the retirement line is blurred also, and with it goes the sense of guilt and social abandonment that has afflicted many retired persons. More of the retirees of 2000 might enjoy what Mr. Justice Holmes called "a little final canter."

Living Without Loneliness

Where will they enjoy it? The changed housing requirements of the latter decades of life have been recognized for a number of years.

Most older people in the year 2000 will not move in with their relatives. The trend away from the multiple-generation family is so strong as to seem irreversible: of 16.2 million people 65 and over in 1960, over 12 million were living in their own households and 2.9 million – an increase of 94 percent over a decade – were living alone. Only 2.7 million were living as a parent or other relative in a home headed by someone else.

Is it better for elderly people to change their residence at retirement, or to live in their previous communities? Throughout life, the fluidity of American residence is great – each year, one family in five moves. Many older persons' present disposition is to move, whether to beat the fuel bill, to bow out from the scene of former employment and responsibility, or to get away from it all and go fishing.

Some retirement communities, such as St. Petersburg, have grown like Topsy; specially built developments come in all income sizes – exclusive clubs, FHA-financed commercial developments, properties of unions and benevolent societies, low-cost public housing units. Physically, they have much to recommend them: ramps and elevators, non-skid floors, grab-bars in bathrooms; and on the social side, meeting places, arts and crafts units, dining facilities for those who care to use them. But many such establishments are off by themselves, segregating the elderly from the rest of society. Those who move in now are apt to be the young aged, retirees in their sixties. Many are initially pleased, but 20 years from now, 40 years from now, these people will be physically far less mobile, far more dependent on what is immediately at hand, in far greater need of supervision, medical services, personal care. Lately, FHA has been backing away from the building of housing for the aged on isolated pieces of low-cost land.

Over the past few decades, the old-fashioned concept of an orphanage, as a building out on the edge of town next to the poor farm, has moved in the direction of non-institutional care through placement in foster homes. A similar trend favors location of the elderly where they will be interspersed with people of other ages. One disconsolate woman, resident of a remote suburban housing project for the aged commented: "Every time I look out the door I see myself coming down the street." When the city of Rotterdam was rebuilt after the war, the new low-cost housing peripheral to the city center included single rows of one-story apartments (no steps) reserved for elderly tenants, surrounded by taller U-shaped apartment buildings for families of all ages. School children go to and fro along the sidewalks, workers dismount from their buses at the end of the day, friendly young heads stick in the door for a chat. The mixture has worked well.

Location of housing for the aged in areas containing a full cross-section of age groups not only provides older people with diversion and continued involvement in community life; for many such a milieu makes possible supplemental income through self-employment. Of three million elderly who are working about a million are self-employed.

Existence of the Helpless

When physical and/or mental deterioration reaches a certain stage, however, most of the aged-aged require specialized care as well as specialized housing. Some four percent of persons over 65 are currently in institutions, many of which do not extend the degree of compassion and the quality of care that would characterize a Great Society.

But chronic disease patients do not necessarily have to be institutionalized – do-it-yourself medication received great impetus when diabetes

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sufferers began to give their own insulin injections. Visiting nurse or trained housekeeper services could enable many elderly people to maintain their own homes – in some places they are doing so. But in general, a serious gap now exists between independence and institutionalization.

The Right To Die

The acceleration of apathy and loss of contact when elderly people are moved to the custodial – and all too frequently the janitorial – care of nursing homes, and the medical prolongation of existence when the very aged reach a vegetable state of unconsciousness raise questions about which much is said in private among both laymen and doctors, and little in public because of thorny psychological, theological and legal problems. Both the moral law and the law enforceable through the courts say, "Thou shalt not kill." The doctor's Hippocratic oath binds him: "I will neither give a deadly drug to anybody if asked for it, nor will I make a suggestion to this effect."

Yet what of the patient who is beyond asking for anything, who for two years, or five, or even 10 lies in comatose incontinence, progressively deteriorating? Mercy killing is a concept that has already made its appearance in court. When a withdrawal of medication would enable such a life to end painlessly, are there situations in which review by doctor, family and perhaps a committee appointed by the medical society, hospital or court should be recognized as valid and good? If a sufferer from an incurable disease wishes to die with dignity while still able to wish and act, must he resort to the cruder forms of suicide?

As younger persons become accustomed to the signs of terminal illness of the very old, what if they, while still in good health and sound mind, wish to instruct family, physician and the institution where they may one day be after an incapacitating stroke or when deterioration has reached a non-reversible stage, that they are not to be maintained in an existence that has lost all significance? Should a properly attested instrument not be accorded the same validity as an individual's last will, likewise prepared in advance with a view to a future contingency?

Such suggestions conjure up the figure of the rapacious relative, avid to inherit, and the subornable doctor who becomes an accomplice. Cases of the railroading of persons into institutions by families eager to get control of their property are common enough to be cautionary. Yet the massive proportions of the aging population are already accelerating the development of new concepts and contracts, in which the community becomes a party to decisions of a kind previously not made, or made privately.

Newspaper stories of the two mysterious sisters who live alone with 12 cats and never venture out by daylight, or of the elderly recluse found dead in rags with a pass-book to a five-figure savings account in his bureau drawer, highlight the more lurid of everyday occurrences: Many elderly people, grown senile, are without locatable relatives and are unable to cope with their affairs. There are some half million of these elderly incompetents today.

Upper-income individuals often exercise powers of attorney in time, or their families work out friendly understandings with their banks to meet expenses rather than subject a formerly prominent citizen to the public finding of a lunacy commission with appointment of a guardian by the court. But for low-income people there has been no alternative procedure, and many are without a responsible person even to authorize the use of this one.

Under the Community Home Services and Facilities Act of 1961 and the 1962 Social Security Act Amendments, federal financial assistance is available to states and communities which initiate protective service programs for elderly persons. Officials are empowered under these programs to conserve both the personal assets of the elderly – property, possessions, money – and see to it that the community

Continued on page 74

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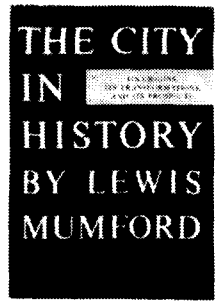

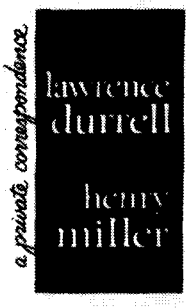

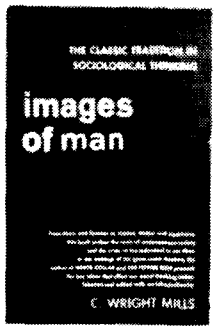

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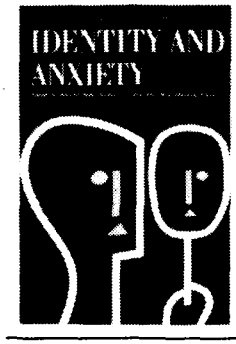

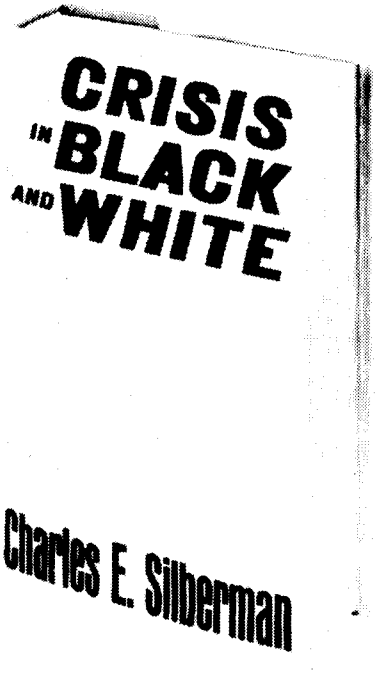

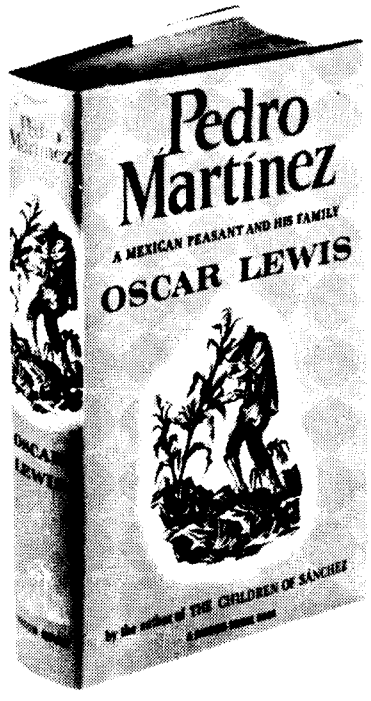

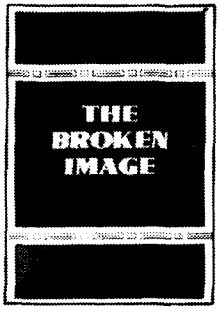

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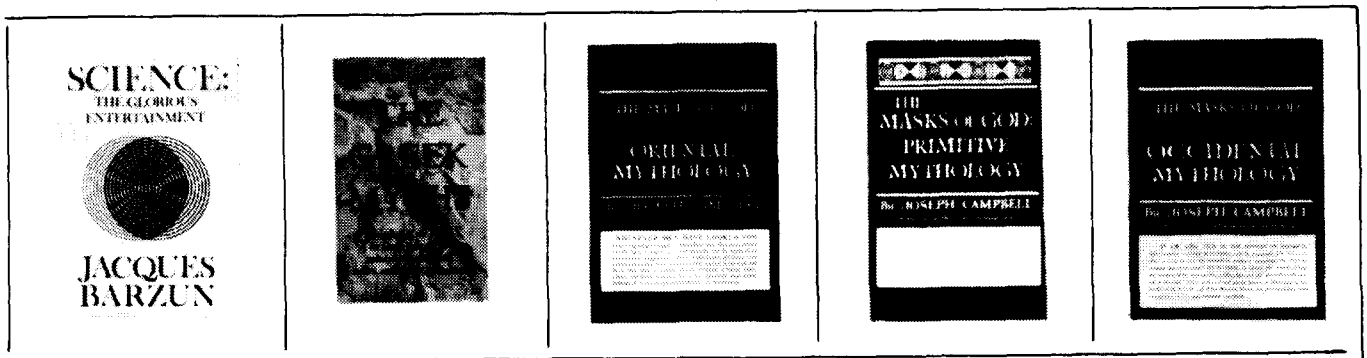

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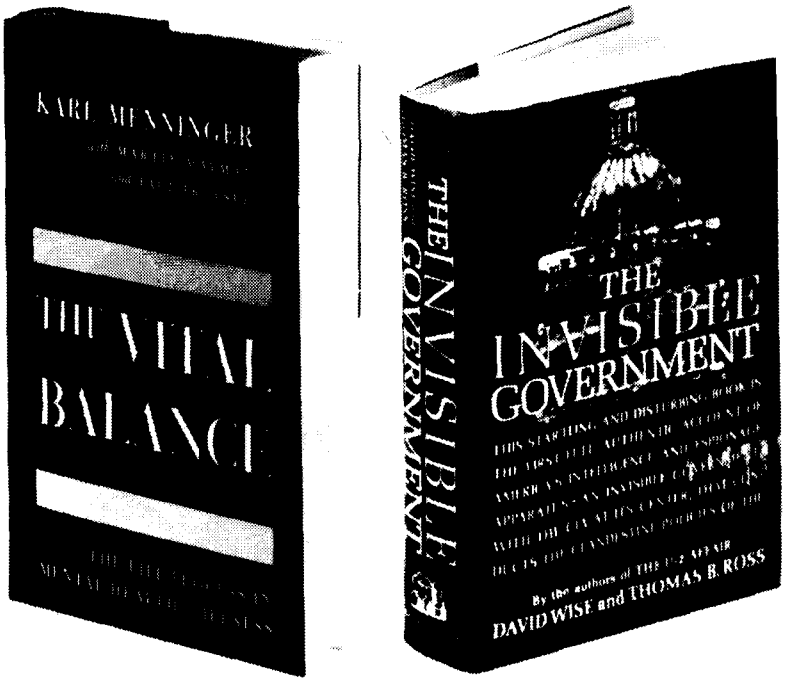
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resources available to them through social security, public assistance, etc., are wisely spent. They can also intervene when behavior becomes dangerously erratic. With the forthcoming increase in the number of such persons, protective services will be more extensively employed.

Sheer numbers are also forcing the making of life-and-death choices of one patient over against another, with regard to certain scarce medical resources. In the modern treatment of many ailments, the old one-to-one relation between doctor and patient no longer obtains. Heart surgery requires a good-sized team of highly skilled persons currently in short supply. Artificial kidney apparatus and the personnel required to operate it do not exist in quantities sufficient to treat all who could profit by treatment. Such facilities are so costly that argument for their indefinite expansion must consider the balance between this as against other alternative uses of funds. At some facilities, a committee now chooses among candidates for the scarcer kinds of medical care. Third-party exercise of such responsibility is likewise apt to increase, in part because of greater numbers in the population, and in part because improvement of medical care is rather like peeling successive layers of an onion: there is always a further layer underneath, and in this case it is apt to be a more costly one.

Being of Use

A Great Society in whose benefits its aged members share will accent concepts more than costs. At present, retirement confines a large part of the population to a consumer's world that all too easily becomes self-centered and then withdrawn; and at present levels of income anxiety accompanies what consumption does take place.

Hard-and-fast retirement rules are as crude as the early industrial processes that they paralleled, when brawn was at a premium and the general level of health much lower than today. This kind of retirement, while it affects millions of people, has never been more than partial. In a wide range of occupations from farming through law and politics to the arts, self-employment has always permitted flexibility. The concept that a man is as old as he feels can be substantiated today by medical documentation, and it will show wide individual variations in the rates of the aging process. An agricultural specialist of 82 is currently serving as a consultant in Africa; he would not have been allowed to go if he had not produced an exceptional set of medical records.

How old a man feels is likely to depend very largely on the expectations with which he has lived. The question directed to children, "What are you going to do when you grow up?" usually awaits a single answer. When it elicits no more, it bends the twig into permanent deformity. Very few men and women actually do only one thing all their lives, and the young person's planning needs to recognize this.

Early expectation of vocational diversity over the life span is still more relevant when accompanied by the injunction, "Live and learn." Schooling that stops with "commencement" of a working life prepares an individual for a dead end when it is over. The current rate of change in industrial processes is making continuing, purposeful education close to compulsory. Adult education is no more an irrelevant pastime for those in quest of culture.

To the extent that young persons foresee their entire life span, and anticipate a series of commencements, the elderly of 2000 will be far better prepared for rewarding membership in the American community. The present apartheid of the old will be replaced by more usefulness during the decades when they are able, and more compassion during their terminal years.

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Black and White: But Whose Great Society?

"You didn't die a slave for nothing, Momma. You brought us up. You and all these Negro mothers who gave their kids the strength to go on, to take that thimble to the well while whites were taking buckets. Those of us who weren't destroyed got strength, got calluses on our souls." – DICK GREGORY

by Murray Kempton

My *New Republic* colleagues have trusted me to think about that part of the future which might belong to Americans who are Negroes. I have talked to the Negroes I know best. I have read as much of the current literature as most humans might hope to. The mere volume of books on the Negro this season ought to make us suspect a decline in public interest; we can assume that they are aimed at the fashion of a previous year.

I have emerged feeling that one reason why very little new can be said is that the old has never really been listened to. Last summer, to take a case, *Harpers* published an article by Ralph Ellison on Harlem. I have read nothing which added so much to whatever understanding is possible about the lives of country people enduring the meanness of a city which had been a dream to them as children. It is, Ellison suggested to me, the comfortable white experience to reach your goal and be bored; and it is the Harlem experience to reach your goal and be in jail. Ellison was talking about Harlem just as it is tonight; thus I was surprised to come across a publisher's note saying that his report had been written in 1948. I should not have been surprised. Richard Wright's *Black Boy* is nearly 20 years old; yet, only two years ago, James Baldwin, using memories very like Wright's, told rather much the same story of his childhood without altering the indifference of us, the Negro writer's new audience. I mean by "us," of course, those of us who are white. We do not often think of ourselves as "us" whites. When we conjure up a common family, we tend to speak of the family of man. And yet, how often I have heard Roy Wilkins and Dick Gregory, two otherwise different men, speak to and about audiences of Negroes as "us." That is a communal identity which is alien to the speech of white people; when we talk about the White Citizens' Council of Alabama, we are accustomed to speak of "them." That difference in identification is the explanation sophistication gives for the persistence with which Negroes stand by Adam Clayton Powell; with all his sins, they think of him as one of theirs. We feel no such communal tie with George Wallace, though Wallace is kept in the office he disgraces by white people, as Adam Powell is kept in an office he hardly adorns by Negroes. It is strange how seldom we think of Wallace as one of "us." Yet, our accepting him is, I think, important. I do not urge it as a prelude to some thundering revelation that we are all guilty and ought to mend our ways, but rather to suggest a weakness in most of what sophistication

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has to say about whites and the Negro. It is, for example, a staple of sophistication to say how difficult it is for a white man to understand the Negro. Still, I have known a very few white people who, by painful effort, seem to have come to understand how some Negroes feel.

His Negro and Mine

Thinking about this, I come back to my own childhood and the 10 years I visited the South. I am thrown that far back by an article which has left me more dissatisfied than almost any I have read on the subject. It is Norman Podhoretz's notorious essay, "My Negro Problem and Ours." Here Podhoretz confesses to still carrying twinges of "the fear and resentment" he had felt for the freer, stronger, uninhibitedly hostile Negro schoolmates of his childhood. Podhoretz remembers the Negro as something larger than he actually was, as not merely the source of kicks and cuffs but also a child's first confrontation with the world beyond his own ghetto. Negroes seem, oddly enough, to have been the first white Protestants Podhoretz ever engaged. Most of us grow up in some garrison or other; Negroes were, I begin to understand, the first Jews of my acquaintance.

Podhoretz as a child feared the Negro and envied his manhood. Podhoretz the man thinks of the Negro as blessed in his beauty. Yet Podhoretz cannot walk around New York's West Side, past the dark shadows on its streets, without the fears of his boyhood coming back, controlled but always reminding. He ends his recital of these troubles with the cry that we must love one another. James Baldwin also says something very like that. Most of the time, when a man implores us to love one another we have to assume that we are listening to a victim, just as, when we hear admonitions to tolerance and cooperation, we know we are listening to a master.

I first read Podhoretz with a proprietary sense of affront. There was nothing about *his* Negro which I could recognize as *my* Negro. Even our immediate experiences were different; Podhoretz and I are neighbors with Negroes all about us. I see the same shapes he sees and have never felt the smallest fear of them. Podhoretz's Negro was wild, free and hostile; mine was devoted, patient and grateful to me. But even though Podhoretz is wanting in the proper affection for my Negro, he has at least never sinned by thinking that he owned his. My own problem then is deeper than Podhoretz's; he has only to make peace with *his* Negro; I have to set mine free.

Growing Up Southern

I grew up in a Virginia household which had been transplanted to Baltimore, in a family which had two servants and understood that it could not afford an automobile. I have taken it for granted ever since that Negroes had especially good manners; the Negroes of my childhood needed to have them. My own manners can be ceremonious; but they are essentially indifferent: as a child who went to school to, if never with, Negroes, I did not need any other kind. Whatever I remember of warmth and kindness that came from persons not of my blood came from the Negroes in our kitchen and it was certainly more than they needed to give. I have expected warmth and kindness from Negroes ever since, and I have almost always found them, and, in the cases where I did not, I have always found more trust than I deserved.

My home was border urban. It was a home of the Southern class whose members take it for granted that Negroes, if only from association with them, are worthier and better-bred than poor whites. I thus never felt the need to put the Negro in his place, and in the South for years I never hesitated to put the poor white in his. The saints of my childhood were nearly all Negroes; later, I only had to go South to see them all over again; it was impossible to the child in me that such saints need more than rise to triumph. I am continually surprised by violence in the South because I was raised to believe that poor whites would not dare do the things they have done since. And I do not believe in the riots in the North, because I cannot conceive of Negroes as anything but patient.

I grew older, and the Negro who had meant so much to me as servant came to mean as much to me as the performer and the actor, who is, to be sure, a higher servant. It was my fortune to grow up in a time when jazz was inexpensive. We spent almost every Friday night at the New Albert Casino and every Saturday afternoon at the Royal Theater on Pennsylvania Avenue, Baltimore's Negro strip. I heard Bessie Smith first at the Royal; and now I remember that the first personal indignation I ever felt about segregation came when one of my friends told me that Bessie Smith had been hurt in an auto accident near Memphis, and that the white hospital had refused to treat her and that she had bled to death. I am not sure that this story is true; but all *our* Negroes believed it and we believed it too, and we were revolted – or at least affronted – by an order which would kill *our* Bessie Smith. The Negro musician had that special position which the Negro athlete has for my children, although their feeling seems to me happily less proprietary.

Someone to Count on

The Negro baseball player remains *mine*, to a degree no white athlete could. My heart leaps when a Negro comes to bat on my team; I had thought that it was a recognition of his superior skills, but now I

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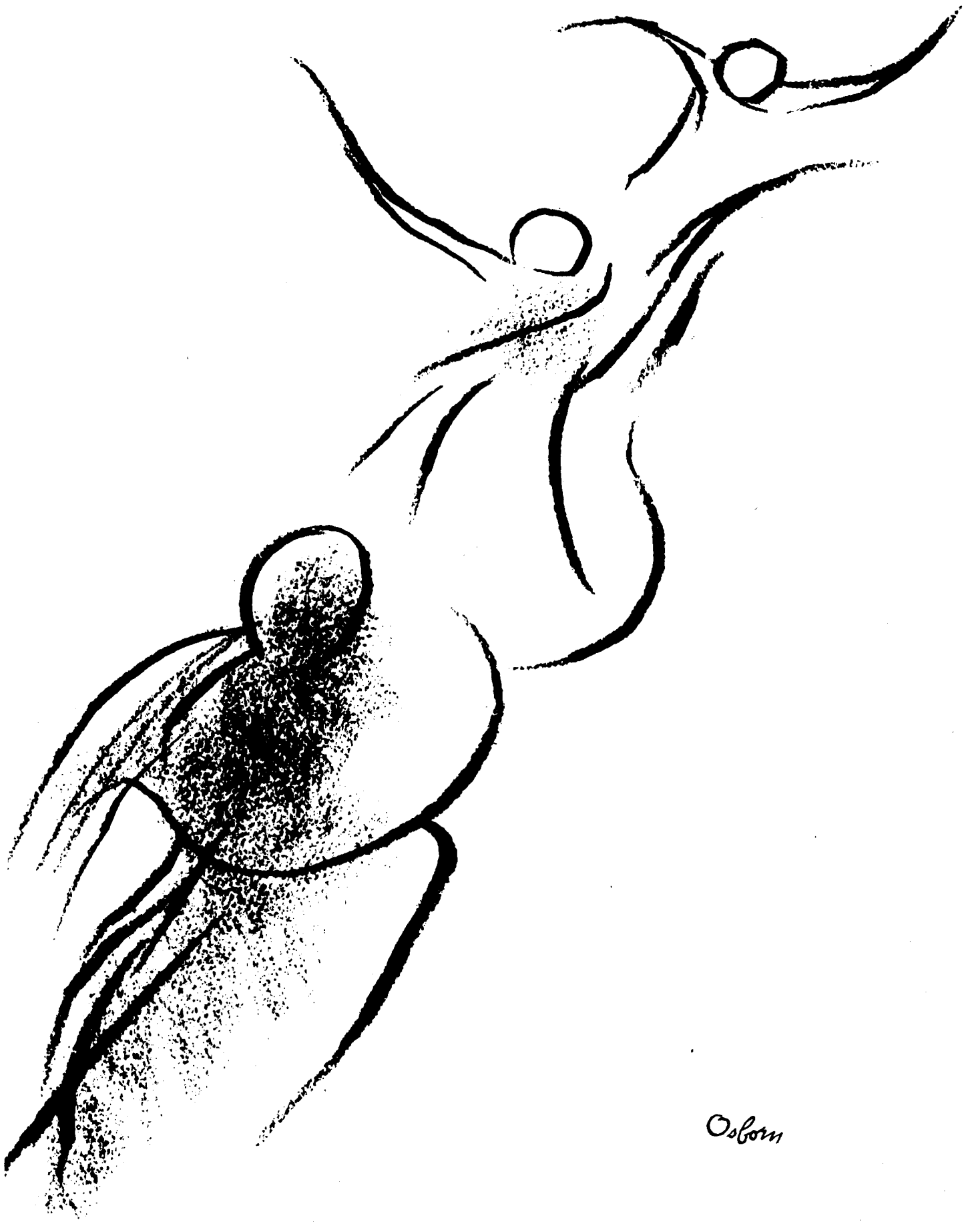

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know it is because I still think of him as my servant to be trusted to do what I want him to do. I think of him that way, even if he is on the other team: Jimmy Brown of the Cleveland Browns is the best fullback still active, but I trust him not to do as well as usual against the New York Giants, and, oddly enough, he seldom does.

The Leftover

The Negroes who have intruded themselves on events in the South are talked of as revolutionaries; yet might we not someday come to recognize the history they are making as one more aspect of the Negro's position as *our* servant? Having served as cook, the Negro now serves as social conscience to a nation too tired to have one of its own. He goes to prison for us, he stands up to that part of us which we hadn't the self-control to govern, he represents that part of us which either did not dare or care to speak for itself. We might think of the quarrel over seating the Mississippi Freedom "delegation" to the 1964 Democratic National Convention as a piece of the master-servant relationship. The house, after all, belonged to the Democratic Party: the Freedom delegates had no claim outside its kitchen. There was no legal remedy for their need; the Democrats decided therefore to give them two delegates at large. That was a solution exemplarily Southern, very like the evenings in the home of my childhood when the cook used to leave with a paperbag stuffed with food which belonged in the ice-box. She had no property right to what she took, of course; the Mississippi Freedom Party had no property right in those two delegates either; the solution in each case was a small mutual conspiracy to cheat the appointed laws of God.

I was in high school during the only brief part of my life when I worked with my hands side by side with Negroes. A friend and I spent a few weeks in the summer of 1934 on a threshing crew on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. The owner of the threshing machine was a tenant of my friend's father. We were the only two white members of a 12-man labor gang. The gang boss was a Negro named Castle. He managed its affairs with a cruelty that was occasionally casual and occasionally concentrated but in either form continual. He treated me with unceremonious indifference, that is, as an equal; he treated the rest of the gang as though he were driving animals. He never noticed whether I worked fast or slow; I was the least fit worker in his crew; I was desperate to keep up and, ridiculously enough, proud when I thought I could. I say ridiculously because, for one thing, I could never keep up, and for another Castle didn't care whether I could or not. It was a long time before I understood that when my friend and I were put on Castle's crew, he had understood that from now on his job was to get 12 men's work from 10 Negroes. His way of doing that was unwinkingly brutal; we would work until cold sundown, and I would go to bed feeling only my own exhaustion, never knowing how much wearier I had made the rest of the crew and how much crueler I had made Castle just by being there and failing at my share.

Servants and Masters

My part in the brotherhood of toil had been to make my other brothers work harder than they would otherwise have had to. And yet, since Castle was never to the smallest degree servile to me, I remember thinking how free and easy our relationship was. Once he slapped another crew member; and, even then, I did not recognize that for Castle to treat anyone in his gang as an equal was a servile act, a recognition that here was an outsider beyond his control. I did

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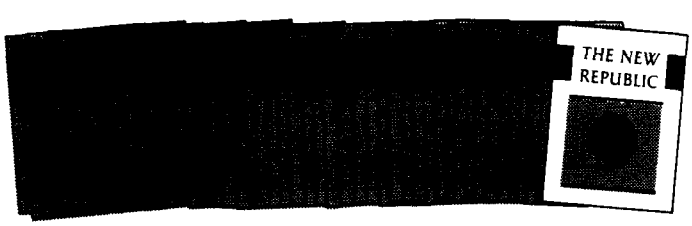

not, in fact, recognize anything at all until, more than 20 years later, I met Sonny Liston. He was then heavyweight champion of the world, an immense malignant force. The sportswriter who took me to see him is an altogether braver man than myself, but he thought of Liston with unashamed physical unease. Our conversation was dutiful on Liston's side and, on mine, rather like the way my family used to talk to the cook's son who had been in trouble but was said to have straightened up. I carried away from the experience nothing except the puzzle of why so many of my friends were afraid of Liston. Then it came to me: Sonny Liston was Castle, my old gang boss. He was the big Negro we pay to beat up the little Negro, *my* Negro. He was the colored policeman Southern mayors put on the force as a concession to Negro demonstrations, the black cop in the Negro district with free play to do what he pleases with any Negro and not even the authority to arrest a white man. The point was that I felt assured that Sonny Liston's rule did not run to me any more than Castle's had; each was safely penned in the only part of the world of my childhood which I felt sure I could control.

Someone to Control

Now I should be quite surprised to know that my Negro friends had found this out about me before I did myself; it is one of their sophistications to think that the best white people are the "really good" Southern ones. I remember Malcolm X telling me that even he had found a few; and I remember how comfortable it felt to think that even here I had found a trusting black heart. And then I remembered that I had never known a Negro who did not trust us too much, and that I had known very few who really understood what was being done to them. The cooks and maids of Mont-

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gomery, Alabama, have gone on believing against heavy contrary evidence that they can reach the "really good" Southerner; from the same trusting heart, James Baldwin and Malcolm X seem to think that we are really listening to them and not just watching two dancers.

Acting for Us

When I go back to where my feelings began, I recognize that in this area alone I have the mind of organized society. I think of every Negro as someone – the only sort of person – I can control. In the case of the Negro, society has more reason to be assured of its control than with most other groups. The Negro is so well-trained, it is very hard for him to understand that he is permitted to say only what society wants him to say, even when he is trying to be offensive. When I was a boy Stepin Fetchit was the only Negro actor who worked regularly in the movies. Paul Robeson's only substantial Hollywood part was in *Showboat* as the shiftless darky we enjoy, married to the splendid mammy we almost respect. None of us thought then that Robeson certainly and Stepin Fetchit quite possibly did not think of themselves in terms of the only images they were hired to transmit. The fashion changes, but I sometimes think that Malcolm X and, to a degree even James Baldwin, are *our* Stepin Fetchits. We are unable to conceive of them as having feelings more complicated than their roles. An especially sensitive reporter visited Malcolm X once and found him among his followers, and wrote later how Malcolm talked all the time to his one white visitor and never to the Negroes. We ought to be able to understand that; we own every means by which a man can be noticed. If he does not speak to us, he speaks to no one really useful to him. We condemn Malcolm X to be an actor, and an actor not for Negroes but for us, the white folks. So

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MORROW

the Negro is almost always a servant, even for those proud to think themselves outside of society. The cult of the dead in jazz is the clearest special case. The jazz audience is moved less by musical than by literary impulses; its heroes are musicians who died noticed only for the degree of their ruin and the dimension of their destruction by society. They survive as symbols of worship by people whose own lives have been tranquilly ordered by society, rather as Christian martyrs are for pewholders, only more intimate and personal. The musician who is our substitute sufferer is always a Negro and almost always a disordered victim; those who merely suffered and died without scandal are truly regretted only by other musicians. The audience resents no one quite so much as the musician who has managed to survive all his troubles and work on, however honorably he has dodged his duty to be his audience's substitute victim.

The extraordinary Negro is the servant of special groups; but the ordinary Negro has a general function; he is the servant of all organized society.

Sharing the Blessings

We owe the ordinary Negro, I think, a fundamental portion of the things which make the United States the most extraordinary achievement in history of the care and feeding of incompetent white people. I am not suggesting that the Negro produce any special portion of what we consume; he is not generally given the chance to do his share of that work. He serves us by taking less than his share of the blessings our society pours out to the undeserving. And it is the share going to our undeserving into which he threatens to cut now. He disturbs us most in the rare and special cases when he refuses to fill his bag from the ice box and go home.

I am familiar with only one statistic which gives me the remotest sense of what it must be like to be a parent or a child in Harlem: 30 percent of Harlem's third-grade pupils cannot read at what the New York school system defines as the third-grade level. Then our society begins to help them with the education their parents could not give. So, after three more years in school, 80 percent of Harlem's sixth-grade pupils cannot read at sixth-grade level. We must be talking about the only educational system known to civilization in which the intelligence quotient of pupils declines an average of three points between the third grade and the sixth. And, when this process is completed, 11 out of 20 of these children cannot even be graduated from high school.

Everything that can be said about the consequent social waste has already been said and unattended. I don't think it unfair to assume that if the Board of Education provided a minimum budget for the schools of Central Harlem, its pupils would at least hold their own; the fact that they lose ground steadily is evidence that New York is spending a sum below absolute rock bottom on Harlem's schools. But our society sets aside a fixed proportion of its wealth for education; and it allots with a fine and even hand. Only so long as Harlem schools get less than what they need, can schools in neighborhoods closer to the middle-class level hope to get what they need.

It has, to be sure, been urged that our society organize a crash program that will make every slum school better than any suburban school. This, if we are talking about *our* society, serves us no better than the recommendation that we all love one another. The practical situation is that the Board of Education can only give more to the Harlem schools by taking a little bit from the Queens schools. Perhaps the white parents of Queens had some suspicion of that when they turned

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will freedom ring?

This is all that remained of the Mt. Zion Baptist Church in Philadelphia, Mississippi on Tuesday, June 16, 1964. It was one of 25 Negro churches bombed or burned last summer—most of them totally destroyed.

The following Sunday, three civil rights workers named Chaney, Goodman and Schwerner went there to investigate the fire which had leveled the church. They were not seen again alive.

These are the unspeakable facts of last summer—the facts that made the name of Mississippi stand for violence and death in the eyes of the world. And then there were the dozens of Negro homes and stores which were firebombed or burned, and the hundreds of arrests of civil rights workers and local Negroes, and the scores of beatings.

But something else happened there too.

Last summer, a new kind of hope took root among the dispossessed and disenfranchised Negroes of Mississippi. One thousand people from all over the nation came to work there—to let the black citizens of Mississippi know that they were not forgotten. The Summer Project opened with its voter registration drives, its community centers, its Freedom Schools offering genuine education at last to children and adults across the state. It was a crucial breakthrough.

When fall came, the Mississippi Summer Project became the Mississippi Freedom Project—on a full-time, all-year-round basis.

It continues today. The bombs and bullets still fly, but all of the programs are still in operation. Over 200 of the volunteers have stayed; new ones are coming. And a new church will be built where Mt. Zion stood.

This is the spirit of the Project workers and the local Negroes. But that spirit needs tangible support: cars and telephones, typewriters and bail money, medicines and school supplies. The Mississippi Freedom Project needs your help. It needs every penny you can spare.

Will freedom ring out again? The answer is YES—with your help.

To: MISSISSIPPI FREEDOM PROJECT
c/o SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee)
6 Raymond Street
Atlanta 14, Georgia

Please find enclosed $..... as my contribution to the Mississippi Freedom Project.

Name .....

Street Address .....

City and State .....

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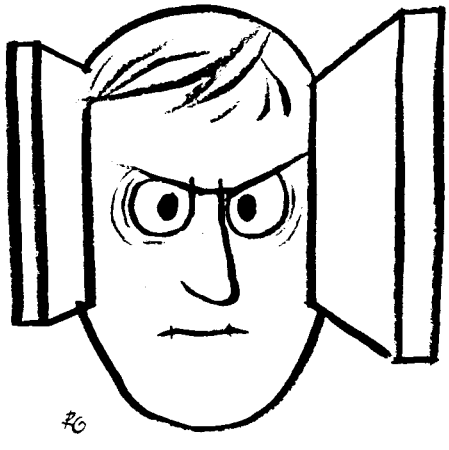
out to demonstrate against the pairing of Negro and white schools. They acted most of all from the conviction that they owned the school where their children had until now studied, mainly with white lower-middle-class children rather like themselves. They protested against the threat to their school's standards from an influx of Negro children whose achievement level was inferior to that of their own children. That would have been an objection of some weight if these parents had owned the school. But it never occurred to them that they didn't. One picket said that his real estate agent had told him that the school was right across the street from his apartment, and now the Board of Education had stolen it from him. His taxes could hardly begin to cover what educating his children costs New York; yet he talked about the school as though it came with his deed. These pickets had assumed from government a privilege to which they had no right, but which government, by cheating on Harlem all these years, had given them. The Negro, until now, had been their servant too.

A reporter was told by one picket in Brooklyn that if he allowed the Negroes to take over his school, they would be after his job next. He spoke as a man who must know that nothing in his job requires the smallest degree of individual merit; it is his because he is white, and he depends upon his union and his government to keep his job a white man's.

Recently, Assistant Secretary of Labor Daniel P. Moynihan took part in a panel at the Museum of Modern Art on planning the future of New York City. At one point Bayard Rustin, another speaker, said that he thought it important "profoundly to inject" the problem of racism into any discussion of how New York could be made better. He mentioned the demonstrators against school integration as an evidence of racism. The audience applauded him. "It's very nice and pleasant," the Assistant Secretary of Labor said, "for a nice middle-class audience sitting in the auditorium of the Museum of Modern Art to call housewives in Queens racists – that's a stinking word."

"Keep Them Out"

Still, no matter how stinking the word, you cannot talk to as many as two of these women without hearing one say something driven by fear and dislike of Negroes. I can sympathize with the Assistant Secretary of Labor; he is a particularly delectable flower of the West Side Irish community, and it was proper for him to resent how Rustin talked about his family. His response was one of class; and I am embarrassed to say that my answer to him is one of class too. It is hard to avoid thinking of the present situation as a choice between the rights of the



Negro and the privileges obtaining to the craft union of the white workingman. Every blessing which the welfare state has conferred upon the white workingman has, to a degree, been made possible by the isolation of the Negro from access to the normal human share. The craft union is simply an instrument to enforce the concept that a member's job is a property right; granted its premises, there is no reason why all such unions should not hand on the job from father to son. The job's value largely depends on the extent of the union's monopoly on an artificially-restricted labor supply.

Negroes constitute roughly 10 percent of the population of the United States. In large labor population areas, the proportion is higher; something like a quarter of the population of the island of Manhattan is Negro. Our society acts almost as if it knew what it is doing; if these people were able to move on free and equal terms in the labor market, the limits of our present economy could not sustain them. Their condition, as it is now, has a lot in common with the real lot of many slaves just before the Civil War; visitors from the North were often struck with how many Negroes they saw around Southern houses, sitting on the back stairs when they weren't wasting their time with busy work like waving flies away from their proprietor. Many Negroes in New York live like that now; slums are horrible and inhuman but it makes no sense to say that they are expensive. If you make the school bad enough, you effectively remove the child as a competitive factor in the labor market; if people live deprived long enough, their sense of their due from the state and what they need to live shrinks to the point where it can be covered by minimal public expenditures.

They are cheated, of course; but the cheat we have practiced on these Negroes has given us the surplus whose fruits have convinced the white workingman that he owns his job and his public school and that it is government's responsibility to protect them for him and his children. Of course he is a racist; how much of what he has does he not owe, after all, to the mere condition that he is white?

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Art, Non-Art: The Curse of Official Culture

by Robert Brustein

What has been the most characteristic pattern of American history? The commission of some crime, paid for with a hundred years of remorse. Whether it be the extermination of the Indian, the enslavement and repression of the Negro, the despoliation of natural resources and the ugly rape of virgin land by industry, the exploitation of immigrant laborers, the uglification of our cities and the demoralization of the young, or the dropping of the first atomic bomb on a civilian population, the initial wickedness has always been followed by elaborate contrition – and sometimes even by an attempt at rectification, as when, for example, the plunder of such rascals as Ford, Rockefeller and Carnegie is partially returned through altruistic foundation grants. American remorse is currently being directed toward the arts and the artist – victims of omission rather than of commission, since for years the objects of Philistine neglect. But the question arises whether the recent development of an expiatory cultural conscience simply isn't making matters worse.

Certainly, the arts have never before been the object of so much patronage and goodwill; but just as certainly, they have rarely been surrounded by so much cant, pretension and deadness of spirit. There is, to be sure, a good deal of energy coursing through contemporary American fiction, poetry and sculpture – even through recent painting, though much of this energy seems to me misdirected. But these are private arts, conceived in solitude, their execution less affected by external demands. When the arts are collaborative, like our movies and plays, or institutional, like our TV, radio and much of our architecture – or when the artist himself becomes a public man, politician or performer – there is always a corresponding loss in spontaneity and conviction, and a corresponding gain in hollowness, swank and phony glitter. How is the "cultural revolution" debasing our public arts and artists, and can this sorry situation be reversed?

Perhaps I can define the difficulty better by stating my premise that what is *public* in this country is always in danger of becoming *official;* and this itself results from an irrepressible native desire to apply political criteria to the realm of culture. Although the most lasting modern art has been the product of a uniquely gifted individual, creating out of a lonely and independent consciousness, our democratic temper demands an art which is communal, social and generic. Thus, the artist is expected to be as representative of the whole people as a Senator, and his art as reflective of majority desires as a bill passed through Congress. This has certainly been the view of the government, ever since it discovered that American culture could be an effective weapon in the Cold War. Thinking to improve our "image" abroad, the State Department prefers to export works that are as American as apple

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pie, increasing the sugar and starch content for overseas consumption. But it was not the official production of *The Skin of Our Teeth* that impressed discerning European audiences, it was the unofficial tour of the now-defunct Living Theater, even though that trip received not a penny of aid from the US government, and was supported through money raised at a public auction.

Running for Recognition

On the other hand, the problem is not that we sponsor the wrong things to represent us abroad; it is that we would use the artist and his art for political purposes in the first place. Certainly, something very odd happens to even the most idiosyncratic individuals when they are forced to act in an official capacity – look at Edward Albee and John Steinbeck in Soviet Russia, discoursing on the American Way of Life. Or look at what has happened to Norman Mailer and James Baldwin, both of whom are now neglecting their proper business as writer-intellectuals in order to function as official spokesmen for a group. Literature and politics, never very comfortable bedfellows, are beginning to nuzzle up to each other again, and the writer is running for office, both literally and figuratively, flexing a set of muscles that have long remained unused. Still, as in the 'thirties, this is accompanied by a falling off in honesty, truth and complexity. Of course, there are many who believe that this is an advance, and that the artist who develops in "silence, exile and cunning" is less to be valued than the one who involves himself with his time in a practical way. But these are generally people who have little interest in art, though they obviously have a fervent faith in the artist. As for myself, I have long believed that the greatest threat to the writer today is the temptation to power and influence, and I have no faith whatever in the artist-politician. For while the artist may bring a sense of style to politics, he brings, I am afraid, no superior wisdom. Quite the contrary, his politics is often a frightening blend of lunacy and demagoguery, while his art – and this is worse – becomes an instrument of his power drive rather than of his imagination.

The desire for power by the contemporary American artist is easily understood; it is linked to his desire for fame and prestige. These rewards have been denied him for so long in his own country that, now that they are at last possible, he stands, as Yeats said of Keats, like a little boy with his face pressed against a sweet shop window, ready to gorge. Resisting these sweets undoubtedly takes an heroic effort of the moral will – but some have made the effort successfully, and survived. Edmund Wilson is an exemplary figure in this respect. Although not an artist, he suffers from similar assaults upon his privacy by those who are anxious to exploit his personality. His answer always takes the same form – a printed card, mailed to every would-be promoter, declining all lectures, testimonials, interviews, tintypes and television appearances. Then there is J. D. Salinger, about whose work it is possible to have many opinions, but who has certainly carried on an admirable struggle to protect himself against press agents, prying reporters and *papparazzi*.

Gorging on Sweets

To reject the sweets that the United States is ready to offer is to appear to some observers like a demented malcontent or an outdated eccentric, and it certainly encourages alienated behavior – Salinger lives like a hermit, barricaded in Vermont, and Wilson has often declared that he feels in modern America like a stranger in a foreign land. To gorge on such sweets, however, is to risk such a severe case of ego-indigestion that the very salivary sources of art begin to dry up.

That these sources are in danger now of drying up is evident enough in the various cultural complexes mushrooming around the country – most evident, I think, at New York's Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts. Here one can see how, for all its good intentions, public art turns official, and how official art soon degenerates into mere fashion and ostentation. Even the architecture at the Center seems to suggest this, since both the New York State Theater and Philharmonic Hall have the appearance of modernistic fishbowls, functioning less to house good music and ballet than for people to be *seen*. That Philharmonic Hall has poor acoustics, in fact, has always struck me as symbolic – to listen to Mozart there is less important than to get a good view of Lenny Bernstein, and of the other members of the audience. The interior of the New York State Theater (also plagued by bad acoustics) actually *looks* like a member of the audience – a rich, middle-aged matron, all gussied up for opening night: the lights are shaped like massive diamonds, the chandelier like a great jeweled pendant, and the tiers like chased gold bracelets. Naturally, this wealthy display is reflected in the price of the tickets which have been hiked so high that the single artistic force in the entire complex, the New York City Ballet, is now threatening to withdraw from Lincoln Center because of its powerlessness to maintain its traditional $4.50 top.

The directors of the ballet believe that culture should be a matter of genuine desire and not of padded pocketbooks, and that a company should be permitted to lead its audience, instead of following the audience's style and taste. This does not seem to be the conviction of the directors of Lincoln Center. For it is an axiom of official culture that it

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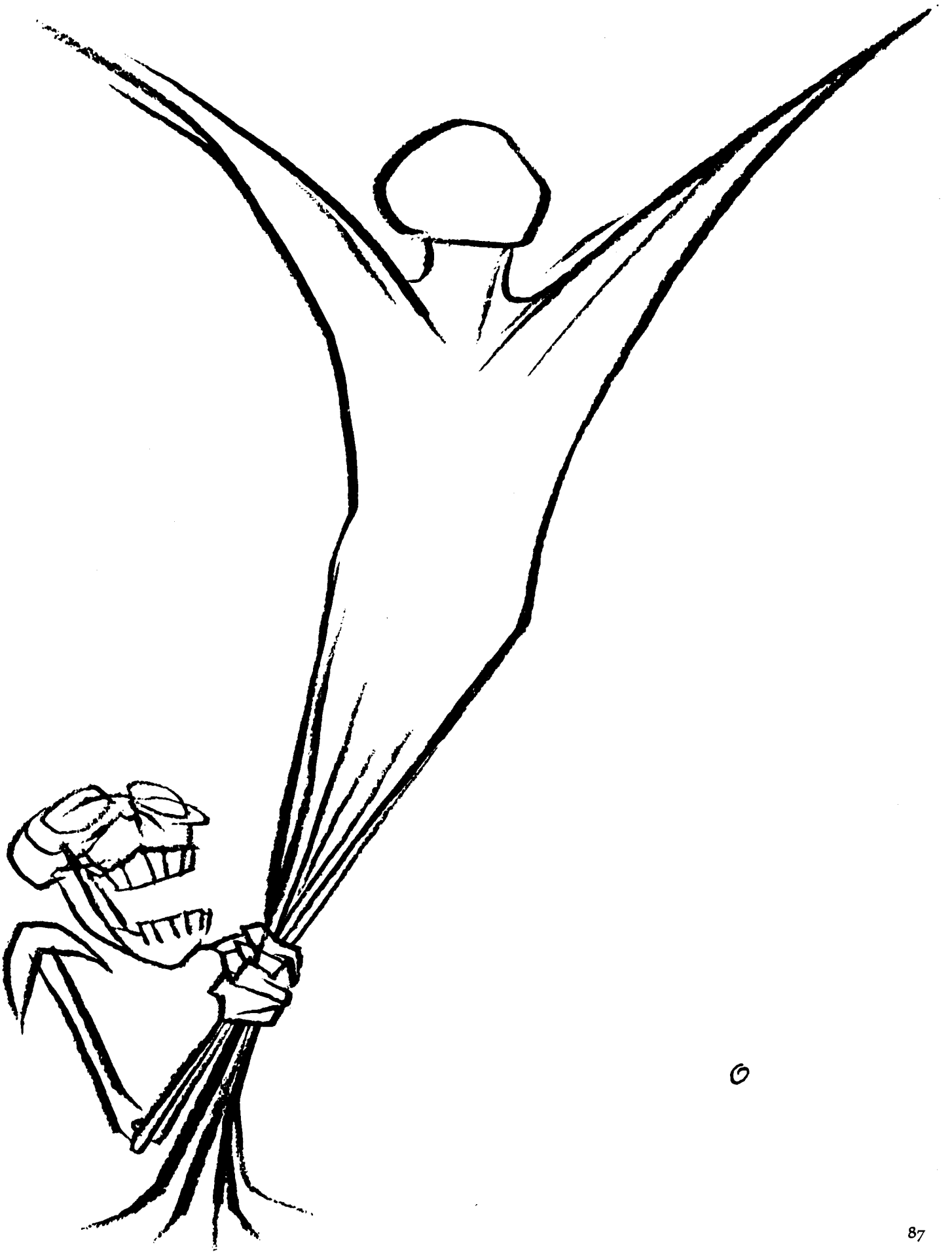

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be shaped to the demands of an existing audience, generally a high-paying one, and that profit and protocol should never be neglected. It would hardly be unfair, in fact, to define official culture as the pursuit of power, fame and money under the guise of disinterestedness – self-interest masquerading as altruism.

Commercial Commodity

This, of course, is the pattern of American business as well, and you may ask how the performing arts can be expected to escape the restrictions of private enterprise. The answer is, they must. It is true that a successful collaborative unit is extremely difficult to maintain in a competitive society: that the task is not impossible has been proved by the New York City Ballet under the reign of George Balanchine. But compare this dedicated and faithful company with the Lincoln Center Repertory Theater, under the reign of Elia Kazan and Robert Whitehead. Coming from Broadway with little experience in any other than a commercial theater system, these men could not help but bring with them the standards of their native environment, despite their ringing declarations of high ideals. As a result, their first season was a scandal – not because the plays "failed" or because the productions were poorly prepared or because the actors were clumsy and uncoordinated. These are problems that can be improved with time and training. The season was a scandal because the company failed so signally to live up to its own policy statements. The plays were indistinguishable from Broadway commodities; the actors began to defect; one of the directors accepted a movie offer; and, worst of all, after all the cant about the virtues of the repertory system, the program was limited, when the other works failed at the box office, to one best-selling *succés de scandale*.

The author of this work, by the way, is the perfect playwright for the company because he has become the official American dramatist *par excellence*. It was not simply that Arthur Miller, who frequently criticizes other playwrights for being too private and too personal, produced a thinly disguised confessional autobiography of his own, but rather that he tried to pass off this personal history as a universal insight into evil, as if his own peculiar domestic embroilments were directly related to the Nazi extermination centers. When Arthur Miller develops a cavity, he thinks the whole world has the toothache. Much the same kind of confused motives were attached to the commercial aspects of his *After the Fall*. When Mr. Miller gave this play to Lincoln Center, he did so – as he repeated frequently in an article for *The New York Times* – at considerable financial sacrifice because he believed in the aims of the company. But the play had already been sold, reputedly for a staggering sum, to that highbrow cultural organ, the *Saturday Evening Post;* it later enjoyed a whopping movie sale; and it is now being prepared for a road tour by a commercial producing unit having no connection with Lincoln Center. If this is what Mr. Miller calls self-sacrifice, what would he call self-interest?

Official Emotions

Let us conclude this exploration of official culture with a brief examination of its official organ of perpetuation, dissemination and publicity: the review pages of *The New York Times*. Now I yield to none in my admiration for the care and expertise with which this good grey presence reports the news, but I can no longer withhold my conviction that its major reviewers – with the occasional exception of the music critic, Harold Schonberg –have become a very serious obstacle to the existence of a genuine culture. Although it is usually difficult to generalize about anything so personal as the tastes of a reviewer, it is nonetheless almost inevitable that the theater, movie, book and television reporters for the *Times* will dislike whatever is authentic, daring and original, while applauding the pompous, the phony and the pretentious. The only way to account for such monolithic consistency is to assume that the *Times* reviews are not guided by personal taste at all – they are guided by *official* emotions, which is to say, by what the reviewers think they *ought* to feel. To take some quick examples, the two most important movie and play reviews of the year, I suppose, were those of *Dr. Strangelove* and *After the Fall*. Needless to say, Bosley Crowther attacked Stanley Kubrick's superb film breakthrough because it maligned the character of those who rule our country, later praising as a "major American picture" an inferior piece of melodramatic trash called *Fail Safe* because it "does not make its characters out to be maniacs and monsters and morons." If art followed such standards, it would quickly give a polite cough and expire. And Howard Taubman, composing his usual high school theme on the virtues of "enchantment" in the theater, wrote a glowing notice of *After the Fall* which will no doubt be anthologized some day (along with Brooks Atkinson's review of *J.B.*) as an example of the intimate link between highmindedness and wrongheadedness. As for Orville Prescott, who always claims to be bored when he is really offended (remember how "dull, dull, dull" he thought *Lolita?*), and Jack Gould, whose activity as guardian of everybody's hurt feelings has helped to banish genuine comedy from television, these men are interchangeable, as are most of the reviewers on the paper. *The New York Times*, having become a self-enclosed organism, tries desperately to

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Some books and authors published by
FARRAR, STRAUS & GIROUX
1946–1964

1946

STEPHEN VINCENT BENET
The Last Circle
JAMES BRANCH CABELL
There Were Two Pirates

1947

CARLO LEVI
Christ Stopped at Eboli
LUDWIG LEWISOHN
The Case of Mr. Crump
RICHARD ROVERE
Howe and Hummel

1948

ROBERT GRAVES
The White Goddess
THEODOR REIK
Listening With the Third Ear
CHARLES WILLIAMS
All Hallows' Eve

1949

SHIRLEY JACKSON
The Lottery
ALBERTO MORAVIA
The Woman of Rome

1950

GAYELORD HAUSER
Look Younger, Live Longer
CHARLES JACKSON
The Sunnier Side
LIONEL TRILLING
The Letters of John Keats

1951

GERALD BRENAN
The Face of Spain
ABRAHAM J. HESCHEL
Man Is Not Alone
QUENTIN REYNOLDS
Courtroom

1952

EUGEN KOGON
The Theory and Practice of Hell
WILLIAM SHIRER
Mid-Century Journey
EDMUND WILSON
Classics and Commercials

1953

MARTIN BUBER
After the Turning
DINO BUZZATI
The Tartar Steppe
COLETTE
Cheri and The Last of Cheri
CESARE PAVESE
The Moon and the Bonfires

1954

MARTIN D'ARCY
Meaning & Matter of History
ALVA JOHNSTON
The Legendary Mizeners
MARGUERITE YOURCENAR
Memoirs of Hadrian

1955

GIOVANNI GUARESCHI
Don Camillo's Dilemma
FRANÇOIS MAURIAC
The Lamb
FRANCIS STEEGMULLER
The Grand Mademoiselle

1956

NELSON ALGREN
A Walk on the Wild Side
DR. THOMAS A. DOOLEY
Deliver Us From Evil
THOMAS MERTON
The Living Bread
ALEC WAUGH
Island in the Sun

1957

ROSE MACAULAY
The Towers of Trebizond
FRANCOISE MALLET-JORIS
House of Lies
ANDRÉ MAUROIS
A History of France
JEAN STAFFORD *Stories*

1958

JUAN RAMON JIMÉNEZ
Selected Writings (Nobel Prize)
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keep its reviews in line with its editorial policy; but nothing better demonstrates the essential antagonism between the subversive world of art and the official world of liberal democracy.

The lesson, if we are thinking seriously about a Great Society, is that these worlds must be kept apart, if either is to find health. Liberalism has traditionally been the conscience of America, and it has been responsible for a great many social advances; but there is a debased liberalism which functions as the sentiment of those who want to make a lot of money and feel good about it. It is this form of liberalism that is now in control of much of the official culture, marketing fashion under the device of advancing the arts. Official culture is also controlled by many who are sincerely well-intentioned, and wish to expiate for America's Philistine past – but even these good intentions are paving a lot of infernal boulevards. For the sad fact is that, despite all the attention being paid to the arts – despite all the gleaming buildings being dedicated to culture – we are worse off now in many ways than in Babbitt's time.

Squeak, Not Thunder

The only way to improve the situation, I think, is to revise our attitudes radically toward the whole question of culture, and we must begin by developing some interest in the essence of art, and not just its external appearance. This means we must no longer pretend that every squeak heard on the avenue is the thunder of a major American talent, or that what the official critic praises and damns has anything to do with real success and failure, or that the size and eminence of an audience measure the value and importance of a work, or that theater architecture has very much relation to theater art, or that opulent surroundings are in any way conducive to serious creativity. We must stop constructing cultural complexes, and start building cultural complexity; we must stop responding to what is comfortable and safe, and start attending to what is radical and audacious; we must stop exploiting the artist's personality, and start probing his vision; and, above all, we must stop trying to assimilate our more dangerous artists, blunting their dissent with a bland and thoughtless acceptance that evades the issues of their work.

The Third Act

This probably sounds like a large order, and it is, for it means nothing less than a cultural *counter*-revolution which pushes hard against the present tide. It means relaxing our attitude toward the arts, treating them neither as political weapons, social events nor official functions but rather as something important in themselves, aspects of our contemplation, relaxation and spiritual growth. And it means letting the artist develop in peace and quiet, with nothing to distract him except the demands of his work. That something like this is necessary can be seen from a quick glance at the battlefield of the "cultural revolution" which is now strewn with the discarded corpses of those who might possibly have been great. Naturally, there are still a number of gifted men and women in America, creating in seclusion, impervious to the pull of politics or the pressure of fashion; but there are many more whose development has been cut off by premature acclaim, and who now may never realize their full potential. It was F. Scott Fitzgerald, another fine writer felled by fashion, who once complained there were no second acts in American lives.

Well, we have now reached the second act, and it is a stinker. It is up to those who really care about art whether the curtain will ever rise on a third.

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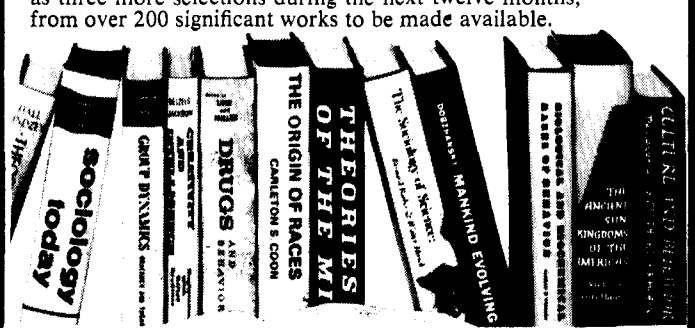

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The World: A Sense of History

by Louis J. Halle

With the disintegration of the bipolar world on which the Cold War was based, Americans, as this anniversary issue of *The New Republic* illustrates, have begun to shift their attention away from foreign affairs to the problems of their own domestic society, turning back to what has traditionally been their first preoccupation. At last they begin to feel themselves able to dismiss from first place in their minds the external world that, for a generation past, has intruded itself so alarmingly on their consciousness. Concurrently, a greater sense of national self-sufficiency is also manifesting itself in Western Europe, among the small states of Eastern Europe, and perhaps elsewhere as well.

It would be easy to conclude from this, as some do, that the direction of history is back toward the familiar old world of proud and self-sufficient nation-states. This view, however, because it takes account of the superficial evidence only, is quite misleading.

We must distinguish between what appears on the surface of world affairs – the declaration of statesmen, the conclusions or rejections of formal agreements, the momentary manifestations of public opinion, *etc.* – and what at the same time is taking place continuously beneath the surface. In the latter part of this article I shall be describing a number of these silent, almost unobserved developments, but I shall give some examples here simply to make my point clear.

A recent study of the European railway system disclosed that, when the St. Gotthard line in Switzerland is blocked, freight backs up in Scandinavia. There were no headlines to announce the moment when the movement of rail traffic in Scandinavia became dependent on the maintenance of a line in Switzerland. Nevertheless, it is this kind of development that will, in the long run, determine the issue of European unification – this kind of development rather than any decision that President de Gaulle of France may announce, no matter how much that decision rocks the world at the time of its announcement.

Today, a strike that halts air traffic at Orley Airport, Paris, immediately affects traffic at airports all around the world.

In the early years of this century, the growing population of Japan passed the point at which it could still live on domestic food production. From that moment, Japan was involved in the international world as she never had been before. Here was a fact that would have prevailed over the will of any Japanese statesman, however powerful, who called for a return to the traditional isolation of the Japanese nation.

In our own country there are powerful political figures who, under the banner of "states' rights," call for a return to the relative independence that the states enjoyed at the time that our federal union was founded. But this option has long ago been foreclosed by irreversible secular developments similar to those I have mentioned above. The

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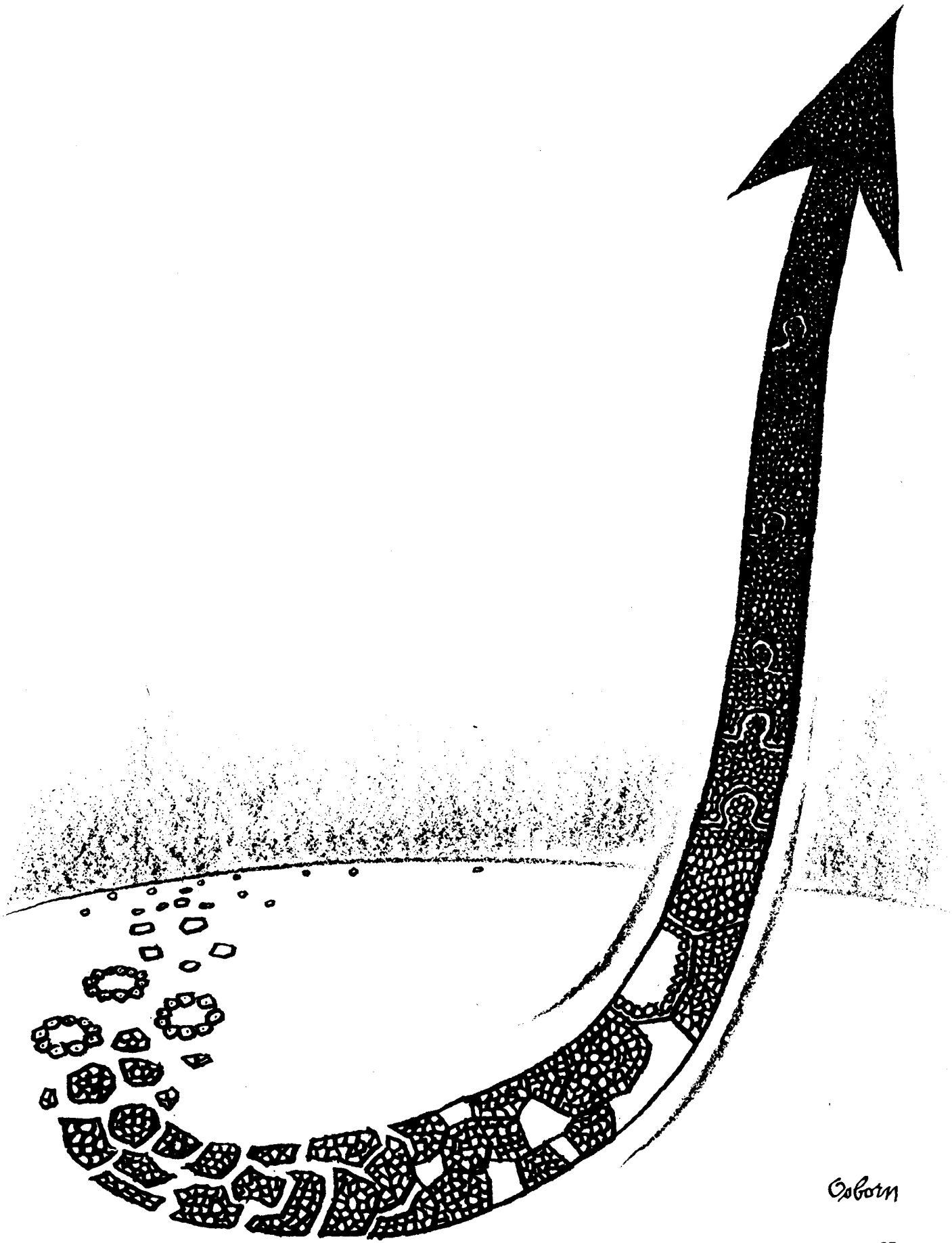

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Estimated World Populations

Years ago	*Population*
1,000,000	125,000
300,000	1,000,000
25,000	3,340,000
10,000	5,320,000
6,000	86,500,000
2,000	133,000,000
310	545,000,000
210	728,000,000
160	906,000,000
60	1,610,000,000
10	2,400,000,000
0 (1960)	2,700,000,000

Estimated World Populations (Future)

1975	3,828,000,000
2000	6,267,000,000

champions of states' rights, faced with these developments, are simply repeating the experiment of King Canute. It would therefore be wrong to conclude that, because the states' rights movement has grown stronger among us over the past few years, history is moving back toward greater states' rights. For like reasons, we should hesitate to predict that, because nationalistic feeling has shown an increase in America and Europe over the past few years, the direction of history is back toward the former world of self-sufficient nation-states. Under the surface of political events, all the secular factors are still moving, and at a constantly accelerating pace, in the opposite direction.

Implicit in what I have said so far is a distinction between the short run and the long run. In the short run, the world may be moving in one direction while, in the long run, it is moving in the opposite direction. Although what counts in a detached and godlike view may be only the long run, the fact remains that we are not detached and godlike. We are mortal and, as someone has observed, in the long run we are all dead. Consequently, when the question is that of where we are heading in the long run, it is proper to ask how long the long run will be. In what follows I shall at least suggest the terms of an answer to that question.

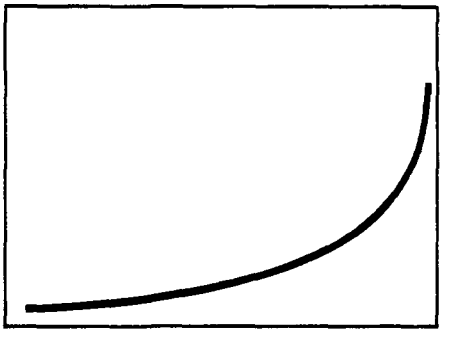
We inhabit a world that is evolving, essentially, in one direction. The evolution of this world has been steadily accelerating over the centuries and the millennia until, at last in our own day, it has reached a point of culmination. We are, consequently, living at what I suppose to be the greatest crisis in the long history of mankind.

Let me cite some of the evidence for this.

The table at the top of column one shows (1) estimates of the world's population over the past million years (taken from E. S. Deevey in *Scientific American*, 203:195-204), and (2) estimates made under the auspices of the United Nations of population growth from 1960 to the end of this century.

Note that these figures might be translated into a graphic curve of the following type:

One million B.C. *2000 A.D.*



The human population increases slowly over tens of thousands of years. But the rate of increase goes steadily up, until in our time the curve that describes it suddenly approaches the vertical.

Suppose we look, now, at the development of human civilization from its beginnings. As a criterion of this development we might take the growth of man's mastery over nature; and, to make the matter more specific, we might estimate the amount of physical power that men, at various stages, have been able to bring into their service. If one goes back to Paleolithic times (say up tc 10,000 years ago, when the population was still hardly more than five million), one finds that men have nothing beyond their own muscular power. With the domestication of animals they add the power of the ox and ass to their own. At some stage, in relatively recent times, they invent watermills and windmills; they also invent sailing-ships, using the power of the wind for transport. At last, only some 200 or 250 years ago, they develop steam power, using the energy locked up in coal and wood. Now begins the great industrial and technological revolution, producing spectacular increases in the efficient use of the power found in petroleum, in nitroglycerine, in a variety of chemical compounds. Finally, within our own lifetimes, we have the release of the practically infinite power hitherto locked up in the atom.

Again, this evolution might be represented by the same kind of curve as that which represents the growth of population, a curve that suddenly approaches the vertical in our day.

The same kind of curve would represent the development of our power of military destruction. For many millennia there are only sticks and stones. Then there are spears and swords; then bows and arrows; then firearms, using gun-powder and constantly increasing in power. Finally, within our lifetimes, there are 90-megaton hydrogen bombs, and at least the possibility exists of constructing explosive devices of any power we wish; the possibility exists of destroying virtually all life on earth in one or two explosions.

The same kind of curve would represent the developments of communications and transportation. If, for example, we take the distance a

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man can travel in three hours, we may estimate that for the first 990,000 years, out of the last million, it would be some 15 miles. With the domestication of the horse and the improvement of its breed it might come to be 30 miles. By the beginning of the 20th Century, with the invention of trains and automobiles, the figure goes up to about 200 miles. Today, with manned space vehicles, it is about 25,000 miles.

Note that all these curves, which in one sense or another represent human power and energy, are together approaching the vertical in our day. What we see, therefore, is not just a continuation of evolution, perhaps intensified. It is a crisis in the evolution at least of our planet, and in the evolution of the life upon it. Suddenly there is a change, no longer just in degree but in kind – as when water that is rising in temperature suddenly boils. The increase in industrial and military power has, all of a sudden, become practically unlimited. The human population is, all of a sudden, filling the last habitable places on earth. With the disappearance of frontiers, humanity is suddenly crowded in upon itself – and the social consequences are bound to be immense.

Obsolete Nation-State

This crisis in man's evolution bears most immediately on his social environment, his social organization. Suddenly, because of the upswinging curves, the present social organization of mankind has become obsolete. It is in these terms that we may recognize, today, the twilight of the nation-state. The growth of industrial power, the growth of military power, the expansion of the population, the development of rapid communications – all these upswinging curves have suddenly rendered the nation-state, its geographical boundaries inherited from centuries back, unworkable.

This is a large part of the reason why we have already had two world

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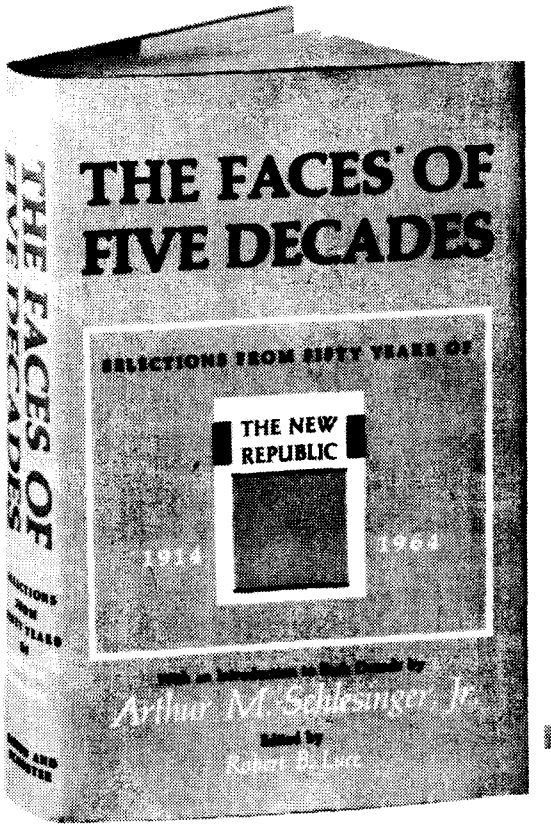

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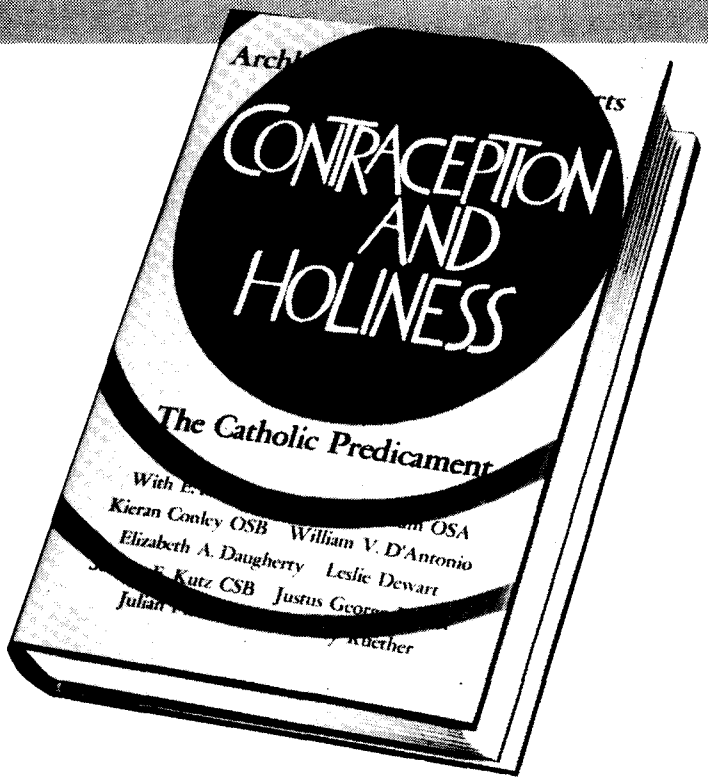

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wars (the first world wars ever) in this century. This is the reason for the great stresses and strains and crises in the international relations of our time. This provides the historical context for the problems of the "Atlantic Community" today, for the problems of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, for the problems of European unification and the Common Market, for the problems of African union and of Arab union, and for a host of other problems as well. In the world's great centers of political authority – whether Washington or Moscow, London, New Delhi or Peking – the succession of crises has become constant and perpetual. Men live in a continuous state of emergency that they are coming to accept as normal. (In the United States for a number of years, it is said, part of the strategic bombing force was kept constantly in the air, although we were not at war. Today our long-range ballistic missiles are manned night and day by crews on the alert.) This was never known in the past, for even in exceptional periods of high emergency there was normally more time. It might, for example, take a year for one state to mount an attack on another, where today it would take a few hours. If we examine the nature of typical crises in our own time, we find them attributable to the accelerated pace of development, to those upswinging curves that are at last approaching the vertical.

We may take an instance almost at random. After the Second World War, with the whole world in revolution, the British government decided that the national security required Britain to possess its own independent nuclear panoply. It therefore set up its own manufacture of nuclear bombs and built its own fleet of 180 manned bombing airplanes (the "V-bombers") to deliver the bombs to their targets. At the same time, it started work on a ground - to - ground missile, "Blue

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Streak," to replace the bombers when they became obsolete, as they would in a few years. But technology was advancing at such a pace, and the cost of weapons development was advancing at such a pace, that in June of 1960 the British government felt obliged to abandon the work on "Blue Streak." It decided, then, to rely instead on an air-to-ground missile called "Skybolt" that the American government was developing. "Skybolt," fired from the V-bombers, would postpone their obsolescence. In 1962, however, the American government found that technology was advancing at such a pace, and the costs of development were multiplying at such a pace, that it felt obliged to abandon the work on "Skybolt." This left the British stranded in their whole program to produce a nuclear deterrent of their own, since it left them without a replacement for means of delivery that would soon be obsolete. Immediately there was a sharp crisis, political upheavals in Westminster, and the emergency meeting between President Kennedy and Prime Minister Macmillan at Nassau, in the Bahamas, where all sorts of makeshifts were explored. What was generally evident was that Britain, by herself, simply did not have the resources to keep abreast of a progress in technology that was advancing at a constantly accelerating pace.

Pooling Resources

Let me take one more example, this one from the field of civil aviation. In the period immediately after the Second World War, competing national airlines like Air France, Swissair, and Japan Air Lines were developed to carry on the international air traffic around the world in competition with one another. In late 1958, the first jet-engined airliners became available to replace the piston-engined planes that these airlines had been flying. Compelled by the requirements of competition to effect this replacement as quickly as possible, they substantially completed it in the next four years, but at immense cost. Most of their old equipment, in which they had invested billions of dollars, was suddenly obsolete. Air crews and ground crews had to be completely retrained, and in short order, to handle the new airliners. On top of that, the increased passenger-carrying capacity of the new craft, outstripping the increased passenger traffic, resulted in operations at a loss for most of the airlines. The total result was to place a financial burden on the national airlines that most of them were hardly able to meet. To deal with the situation, they began to enter into a variety of agreements among themselves for pooling their passenger or technical services. One example was the intergovernmental agreement by which France, Belgium, West Germany and Italy created the "Air Union," representing a partial merger of their national airlines. So the crisis, too severe to be met by the individual nations alone, was met by a pooling of resources, and by moves in the direction of unification across national frontiers.

No sooner had this crisis been met, however, than the same airlines confronted the prospect of another such crisis to be produced, in the next few years, by the development of supersonic airliners. Again we see, here, the spectacle of a progress in technology that is advancing at an accelerating pace, to the point where the resources of the individual nation-state can no longer cope with it.

Those of us who are not social historians can hardly appreciate the revolutionary contrast that this experience makes with the entire previous experience of mankind. (It took centuries after the invention of gunpowder in the West, for example, before it began to exert an appreciable influence on

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the conduct of war.)

Ever since humankind has arrived at self-consciousness it has been aware of the movement of time: day succeeding night and night day, the seasons following one another in their established order. What we men were not aware of until recently, however, was that this movement was going any place. Evolutionary change, until recent times, was too slow to be perceptible within the span of a single generation. So it was possible for us to think of the world as essentially static.

"The thing that hath been is that which shall be;
"And that which is done is that which shall be done;
"And there is no new thing under the sun."

It was not until after the French Revolution that the concept of evolution came to dominate our thinking, and to be applied at last, as it is in our day, to all being regarded as a whole. At first it was thought of as an imperceptibly slow movement, requiring centuries or millennia or more to bring about any perceptible change. It therefore seemed irrelevant to the practical problems of living, just as the expectation that the sun will lose its heat a billion years from now is irrelevant to the practical problems of living. Now, however, with the upswinging curves approaching the vertical, we find ourselves rushed along at a headlong pace that confronts us with a challenge unlike any we have faced before.

Historical Direction

In the world that existed before the French Revolution, statesmen were hardly under compulsion to think in terms of direction since they were not aware that there was movement. In the 17th Century the Stuart rulers of England might have had, as the objective of their rule, simply the perpetuation, unchanged, of their dynasty and of their realm – of the essential *status quo*. Today, however, statesmanship can no longer take as its objective the preservation of the *status quo*. With the world plunging forward at such a pace, the task of statesmanship is not to stop it (since that is impossible) but to steer it as best it can. Today a sense of direction is fundamental to statesmanship.

A sense of direction, I would add, is a sense of the movement that is taking place under the surface of the events that make our headlines. Another name for it is a sense of history.

When the British governments in the period after World War II recognized that colonial rule had become obsolete, that history had moved past the point at which such rule could still be imposed or profitably maintained, then they manifested a sense of history. When the Portuguese government, a score of years after the War fails to recognize that colonial rule has become obsolete, it shows that, like Metternich at an earlier stage, it lacks this sense.

A basic principle of Christian conduct is to find out what the will of God is and then to put one's own will in accord with it, to will the same thing. A basic principle of statesmanship today is to determine in what direction history is moving, and then to steer in that direction.

The world in which we have all been brought up, and which consequently represents the eternal norm for us, is the world of sovereign nation-states. Most of us assume the continuance of that world as men once assumed the continuance of the Roman world, as they later assumed the continuance of the world of dynastic states.

This is, however, an illusion promoted by popular histories, which mislead us about the antiquity, and consequent permanence, of the nation-states that we know today. Charlemagne is supposed to have fought for France in the 8th Century, although there could hardly be said to have been a French nation until a thousand years later, at the time of the French Revolution, when a common system of law was established for the first time, when internal customs barriers were done away with, and when a uniform set of weights and measures was introduced. M. Philippe Ariès writes: "It is probable that in the middle of the 19th Century the national idea was still unknown to a large part of the [French] population, especially in the rural areas."

The Swiss Example

A typical history of Switzerland that I have at hand has an entity called "Switzerland" appearing on the stage of history in the First Century BC, although in fact the independent Swiss state of today, as distinct from an alliance of sovereign cantons (that had its embryonic origin at the end of the 13th Century), was not created until 1848. In the same fashion, in order to make Rome seem eternal the Romans were taught that their city had been founded by Aeneas immediately after the fall of Troy. The Romans automatically drew the conclusion that, because their state had existed from the beginning of history, it would exist to the end.

If we are to appreciate the underlying movement of history and the pace of change, it is important for us to appreciate the fact, which nationalistic legends have hidden, that the world of sovereign nation-states, which we have learned to regard as the norm, did not arise until the latter part of the 19th Century, and that it has become conspicuously more unworkable with the progress of the 20th. In the long perspective of history it will surely appear as a transient phenomenon that had, by our own day, passed its prime.

The history of our present world-

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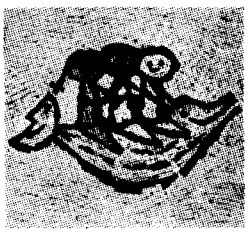

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wide civilization, traced back to the European Middle Ages, shows a consistent progress in consequence of which ever-wider communities – political, social, economic, cultural – have been necessary for the realization of self-sufficiency. This is not the place to give a complete account of the elements involved in this progress. Most of us are familiar with such matters as the development of mass production and the consequent widening both of markets and of the area over which the division of labor operated. I shall confine myself here, by way of example, merely to a few words on the element of military technology – how its development has constantly enlarged the area that could be made a militarily self-defensible unit.

Until the late Middle Ages, the feudal lord in his stronghold was able to provide the necessary military protection for the surrounding feudal community, which might occupy only a small valley. With the invention and development of gunpowder, however, this military self-sufficiency was lost. Cannon could knock down feudal strongholds and the walls of cities. But cannon were beyond the means of the local communities. Only the king could afford them. The king, consequently, was able to overcome the local barons and establish the much wider dynastic state that was to become the matrix of the nation-state. In sum, the minimum area of military self-sufficiency was expanded by the development of artillery.

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End of Self-Sufficiency

Today, the typical nation-state has lost its military self-sufficiency as completely as the local feudal community had by the end of the 15th Century. Only the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, can afford the nuclear panoply, complete with delivery systems, that represents in our day what artillery represented at the end of the Middle Ages. To produce a full nuclear panoply of their own, the European nations would have to come together to produce it jointly (as Britain and France had come together for the production of a supersonic airliner in competition with the United States and the Soviet Union, each of which is developing its own). The military problem of France used to be that it was too large an area to constitute a self-defensible unit. Today it is too small an area. And the evolution that this change represents continues at an accelerating pace. The United States and the Soviet Union, today, are only relatively more self-sufficient than other nation-states. Mankind has reached a point where the realization of the possibilities that technology is opening up requires world-wide cooperation.

Let me return, now, to the particulars of our own time.

Europe today, west of the Iron Curtain (which is beginning to break down), has one railway network, one international police organization for criminal investigation, standardized road signs and a single set of rules for road traffic; and tariff barriers within its confines are being reduced or eliminated. It has one hydroelectric system overrunning national boundaries indiscriminately, so that the city of Geneva, in Switzerland, normally power from France.
gets above a quarter of its light and

More than that, however, the smallness and insufficiency of the European states by themselves is coming to be felt ever more vividly by their ordinary inhabitants, whose mobility is increasing at a revolutionary rate. On weekends and holidays, now, half the population of free Europe takes to the road – in automobiles, on *motos* (*i.e.*, motorcycles, motor-scooters, and motorbicycles), or in tourist buses. In a few hours of travel they may cross two or three national frontiers, virtually without the formalities that were still required half a dozen years ago. The result is that they begin to feel at home in a larger area than that of their national community. International frontiers begin to have the unimportance of internal frontiers, like those between the states in our federal union.

My Village

For six years past I have spent my summers, as well as my winter vacations, in a peasant community in the Swiss Alps. I daresay that communities like this have remained essentially unchanged for a thousand years, but they are now undergoing such rapid transformation that six years can make a notable difference. Six years ago, the community to which I refer still lived essentially on its cattle and goats, plus a small amount of vegetable gardening. The basic wealth of each family was in hayfields, which were scythed throughout the summer, while the cattle were summering in the high *alpages* where the cheese was made. Every morning the goatherd who served three villages in the commune took all the community goats up into the high mountain pastures, bringing them back again every evening (their bells tinkling as they wound down the steep mountain paths).

Two years ago, now, the com-

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mune gave up the services of a goatherd because there were no longer enough goats, and this year for the first time some of the hayfields (which I look out upon as I write) are remaining uncut.

What has happened is that good motor roads have been built to connect our village with the towns in the upper Rhône Valley, where there are a variety of small but growing industries (a fertilizer factory, a basket factory, a bottling plant). The men of the village, now mounted on *motos*, are discovering that by commuting to jobs in the factories they can live better on less work than by pursuing their old occupations. They can also look to the towns for shopping and other services, and it is typical that we no longer have a village shoemaker, as we did four years ago, or a village baker, as we did two years ago. At the same time, the towns in the valley below are prospering and growing and spreading at a sensational rate. Here a degree of change that, 400 years ago, might have taken a century, takes hardly half-a-dozen years.

As prosperity grows, the *motos* begin to be replaced by small automobiles; and now whole families that had been confined to their local communities begin to travel across Europe. Since the Great St. Bernard Tunnel was completed (within the year), it is a matter of an hour's drive from our village into Italy. All this is bound to transform the world in which the villagers live, opening altogether new perspectives. Already the advent of radio and television (in the local *café*) is doing its bit. World politics are intruding on their consciousness. They hear about Vietnam.

I give these details of what is happening in one village because it is typical of what is happening all over free Europe, and beyond. I give them also to suggest that the revolution I am describing is not abstract and theoretical only. It is visible – in the uncut hayfields, in the growth of the towns, in the new *autoroutes* with their swarming traffic.

Essentially the same revolution is being prepared or is under way in the underdeveloped countries of the world and, as all the commentators agree, the leaders in those countries are not willing to resign themselves to the pace at which secular change used to occur.

It seems to me evident that in Europe nationalism is on the wane. But Europe is not the whole world, and it is a commonplace of all commentators that, over Asia, Africa and Latin America, nationalism is still in the ascendant.

I think there is, here, a semantic confusion. We have applied the same term to what are different phenomena, thereby falsely equating the "nationalism" of a Bismarck (or a de Gaulle) with the "nationalism" of a Nehru, a Nasser or a Nkrumah. Nineteenth Century European nationalism had, as its objective, the supremacy of the individual nation-state. Asian and African nationalism, in the second half of the 20th Century, has as its objective the elimination of the white man's supremacy and the realization of self-determination over wide and vaguely defined areas that can hardly be said to correspond to nation-states. Bismarck was a German nationalist, not a European nationalist; but Nkrumah is more readily identified as an African nationalist than as a Ghanaian nationalist. Bismarck's policy tended toward European disunity, while the policy of a Nasser aims at Arab unity or African unity. Under the paradoxical rubric of "nationalism," then, we see in Asia and Africa the same drive toward the unification of hitherto separate communities that we see in Europe.

The American people are among

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the last to be exposed to these cosmopolitanizing influences within their own borders. Already continent-wide, their country's lack of self-sufficiency in the new world that is being born is bound to be less, and to be later in manifesting itself. Nevertheless, one sees how even among ourselves the frontier formalities are being reduced under the pressure of air travel; and this tendency will become accentuated when it becomes possible to go from London in the morning, have lunch in New York or Chicago, and return in the afternoon. (I now find myself occasionally going from Geneva to London just for lunch, although this would hardly have been possible two years ago.)

It is also true that, since 1945, we Americans have definitely abandoned our traditional isolationism – thus responding to a general recognition by our citizens of the fact that we could no longer enjoy, in the second half of the 20th Century, the self-contained security that had previously seemed to be ours. We have also worked for the development of the Atlantic community, but since we have conceived of it as being under our own leadership this has not required us to contemplate such sacrifices of our powers of independent action as must be faced by those who are, by contrast, asked to make themselves dependent on that leadership.

Unheralded Revolution

Nevertheless, the revolution that does not make the headlines is embracing and unifying the whole world, including the United States, at a cataclysmic rate. It is not only in transportation, communications and military technology that we see it taking place. The drugstores, the grocery stores, and even the open markets of European cities today offer products from all over the world to a markedly greater extent than they did half a dozen years ago. The

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fact that a stoppage on a railway-line in Switzerland backs up freight in Scandinavia is not more dramatic, or more eloquent, than the fact that a chicken farmer in Nebraska sells his chickens, not in the neighboring town, but in Germany.

A Single Great Society

It is one thing to say what the direction of history is and another to predict where it will actually take us. For one thing, although we know where the road we are on goes, we do not know that we will be able to stay on it. We do not know that we will not end, at any time, in a smash-up. For another, now that the soaring curves to which I alluded earlier are at last approaching the vertical, one fails to see how one can extrapolate them much further. The growth of population cannot continue indefinitely to accelerate at its present rate. (We will not, one supposes, reach the point on our curve where the world's population doubles in a year; and if we do we will not reach the point where it doubles in a day.) In terms of any practical purpose, the curve showing the accelerating development of military power has already reached the vertical: *e.g.*, we could produce cobalt bombs to destroy virtually all life on this planet if we wanted to. We must suppose, therefore, that we are at the point of completing, if not our evolution, then a major stage of our evolution. One is tempted to conclude that we must be just about to arrive somewhere – but who can say where?

So much for the changing world environment.

How does that changing environment bear on the problem of creating the future American society?

The direction of its development indicates that we will make a mistake if we think exclusively in terms of a self-contained national society. Our national society, today, is in essentially the same position as the Alpine village to which I referred. It is faced with an accelerating evolution whereby it is being integrated into a larger society. It is involved in the emergence, today, of a single great society, which is the society of mankind. That society already exists, for the first time, even if its organization is still primitive.

We should guard against identifying the existence of such a single worldwide society by the degree to which formal institutions have been constituted to govern its organization. Formal institutions may be the last stage in the development of a society – merely registering on the surface what has already occurred beneath it. It was because an evolution similar to that which I have been describing (and essentially part of it) had already made the Swiss cantons interdependent – had already made them one society – that the present Swiss state was formally instituted in 1848. The Constitution of 1848 did not create the society; it merely registered the fact that it had come into being. The same may be said for our American Constitution of 1787.

Diversity and Unity

The development of a large society, however, does not imply the disappearance of the smaller societies within it. The 13 states of our original national society still exist – and, within them, counties, townships and villages.

For an indefinite future, the society of mankind will be a pluralistic society, a society that can exist only by tolerating and accommodating diversity in its constituent parts. The evolutionary process, accelerated as it may be, cannot quickly overcome the diversity of constituent communities, the diversity of those races and cultures of which mankind is composed – even if this should be desirable. The United States will surely continue to exist as a distinct constituent member of the global society. And just as there is nothing in the present evolution of the Alpine village to prevent the villages from undertaking to rebuild or repaint their houses, to improve the roads and paths about the village, to bridge the streams, or to take measures against erosion, so there is nothing in the changing world environment to prevent us Americans from deciding to organize our economy better, to clean up the remaining slums of our cities, and to take measures for the conservation of our national resources.

One thing, however, seems certain. A good American society will not, ultimately, exist apart from a good world society. This means that it must be a society based on the tolerance of diversity – the tolerance of diversity inside its borders as well as outside.

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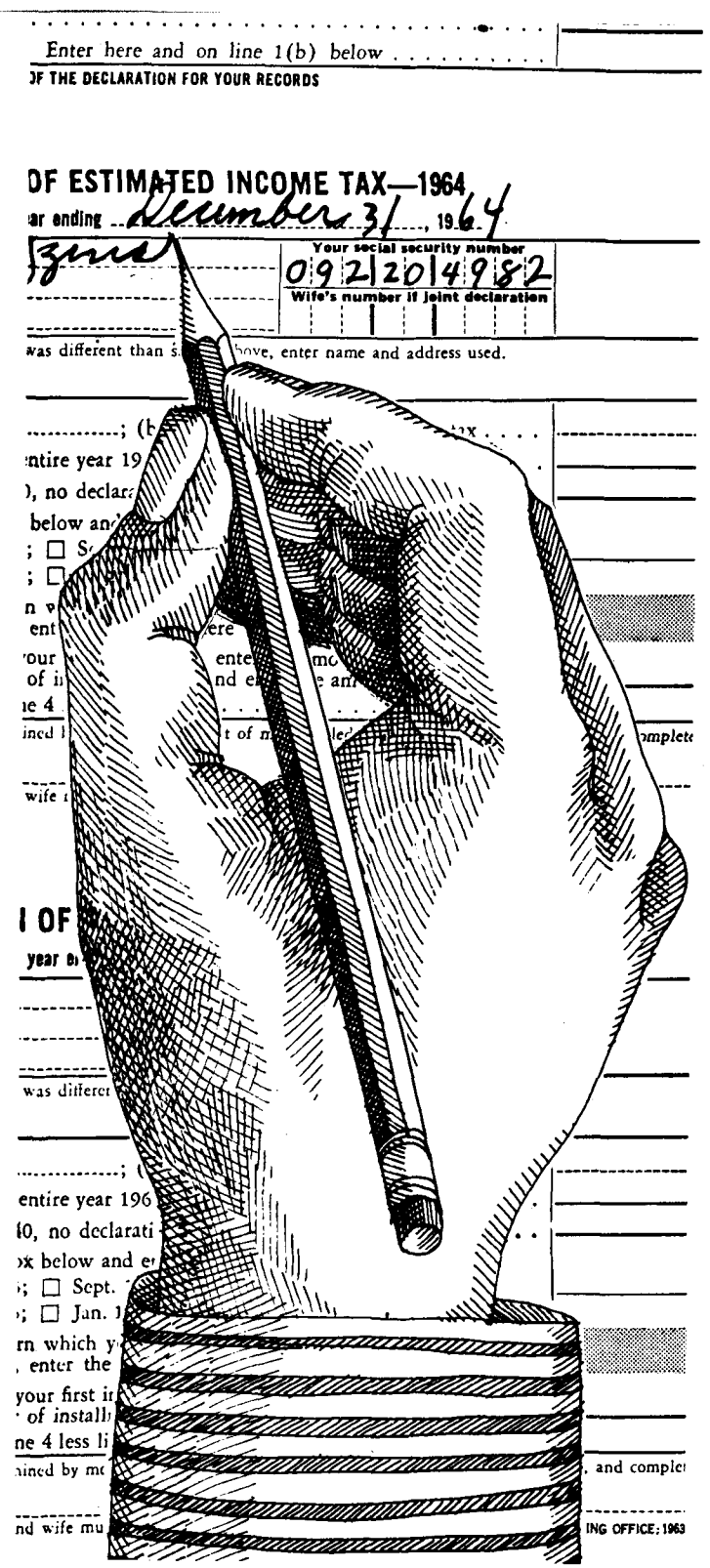
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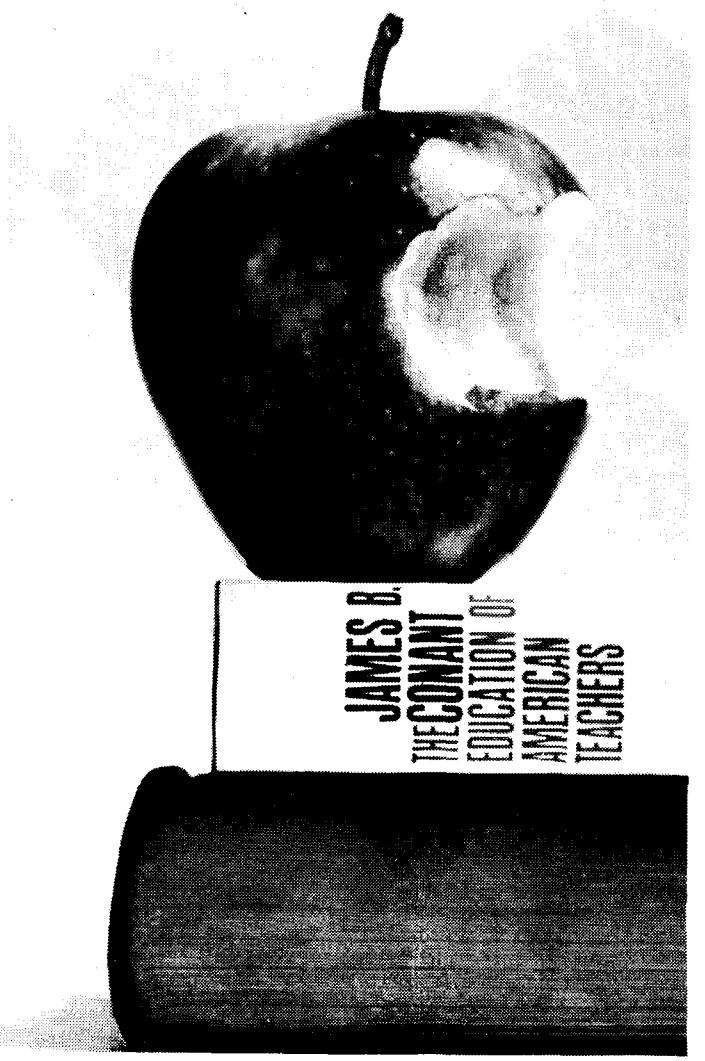

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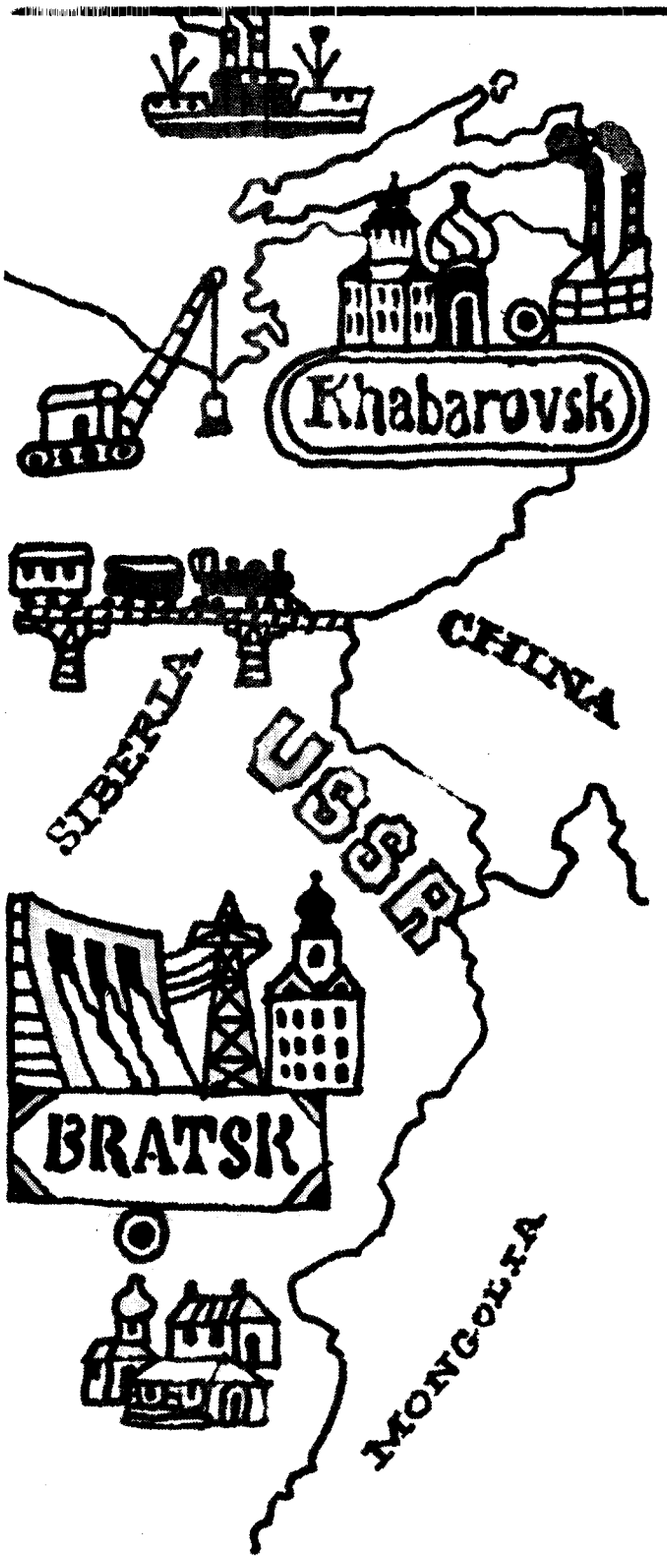

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T.R.B.

Continued from page 12

him). Since then we have had almost a new kind of government.

President Grant got $13,800 a year for running the White House. Hoover – when this magazine was young – had a staff of only 42. Poor, dear General Eisenhower wanted to shrink government, and had a staff of 1,200! Somehow, some of the work of the President must be delegated, perhaps to the Vice President, perhaps to the Cabinet, perhaps by modification of the sacred Separation of Powers itself. I may be wrong, but it seems to me that this Separation is already getting a little moth-eaten around the edges.

Solutions for everything will be found, no doubt; TRB has always been a hopeful chap, ever since he was invented by a former *New Republic* editor, Bruce Bliven. Yet there is a big "if" in all of history: maybe civil rights can be worked out; maybe we can equalize taxes in time (the most outrageous of federal anomalies); and maybe avoid nuclear war.

Under certain circumstances, never yet faced, this reporter has always felt that the US would be a push-over for a demagogue. We are perhaps more vulnerable than any other big nation. Suppose we suffered defeat in war. Unthinkable? Tut, tut, Little Man; a century is a short time! Suppose the next A-1 demagogue should appear when times were really ripe for him, as they were not for Huey Long, who had to face a strong President; or McCarthy, who never could hit on any positive panacea to sell; or Senator Goldwater, whose pastoral demagoguery ran into the stone wall of prosperity.

Will there be a conjunction of defeat, depression and demagogue? When these arrive together our defense will not be in written laws or a Constitution, I believe, but in an attitude of mind and instinct. Are we braced sufficiently strongly? Anyone who saw the Respectables wilt before McCarthy's attack knows that they are stuffed with straw. Always the timid, the bigots, the gullible turn to the strong man with simple answers. In Washington the demagogue has these opportunities: a Presidential candidate is often a relative newcomer to the political system; if and when he gets into the White House, he has the greatest concentration of power on earth; in an emergency even this elaborate power structure is traditionally stretched; and finally, the country tends to reach for a military man if one is available.

From George Washington to Eisenhower, war heroes have occupied the White House about a quarter of the time; and there have been a lot of also-rans like McClellan, Leonard Wood, Douglas MacArthur. Six generals have been nominated directly for the Presidency out of the regular Army. Is this a bogey? – maybe. Yet it leaves doubts to one who has spent some years in Washington, watching a tripartite government flounder about, frequently unable to locate the center of responsibility, and often accompanied by a rise of public impatience.

Fuzzy But Optimistic

★ The paradox is that the hobbles written into the Constitution to prevent one-man rule may produce one-man rule. They tend to make government inefficient and cumbersome. It was planned that way: "The American system, in its ultimate foundations," Harold Laski wrote, "is built upon a belief in weak government." These institutional rigidities, like the spiteful, two-term 22nd Amendment, were designed to protect the people against themselves, always a difficult trick. If ever an angry public turns to existing government and does so in vain – it will try to change that government. And when the dictator comes to America he will be a man claiming to save the country from dictatorship.

The real conservative wants to keep the government flexible, not make it more rigid. Nobody can tell in Washington how deep our conservative anchor is; it is always a toss-up in each new trial what voices will rise to protect freedom of speech, freedom of conscience and all those liberties of the Bill of Rights we are supposed to cherish.

On the whole, I would say, government is improving in Washington, though whether fast enough we don't know. The best brains still tend to serve wealth, not people; the greatest rewards go to money-making, not public service. Our vocabulary tells our scale of values: a brewery, we say, is "free enterprise" while TVA is "socialism"; an AT&T bond issue is an "investment" while a government issue for social welfare is a "deficit"; the manufacturer of thalidomide pills is a "business executive"; the little gray-haired woman in HEW who saves the infants is a "bureaucrat."

America has no stratified social structure either, like England's, where they have the stability that comes from putting faith in a governing class. Here we are all equal, and everyone is his own expert, fully entitled to heave bricks at any government official in sight.

Well, TRB is an institution, not an individual, with a longer life span than most since he works on the transmigration principle, and he is congenitally hopeful. Yet he has no certitudes for victory; there is no glorious promise written in the skies of the New World that says the US must survive. In fact, TRB rather likes it that way: fuzzy but optimistic. This particular writer is reminded of his mother, Mary Susan, who, at the age of 97, finally discovered the meaning of life. It had taken a long time, but there it was at last. Unfortunately, great age brings absentmindedness, and in a fit of the latter she forgot it.

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And yet, as we look toward the ACLU's 45th anniversary year, it is the *fragility* of civil liberties which strikes us, rather than the solidity of past achievement:

In 1962 and 1963 the Union won cases barring religious exercises in public schools. But in 1964 we fight the Becker Amendment which would restore these practices and, for the first time in history, amend the Bill of Rights itself!

In 1954 the ACLU helped win the decision declaring segregation in public schools unconstitutional. In 1964 less than 2% of Negro children in the South are in integrated schools—and in the North attempts to end *de facto* segregation meet with massive resistance.

The principle of "one-man-one-vote" long supported by the Union, was confirmed by the Supreme Court. The reaction: a powerful drive to delay compliance, to remove reapportionment cases from Federal courts, and to amend the Constitution.

Fair housing legislation was passed, with the active help of the ACLU and its affiliates, in seventeen states during the past decade. In 1964, California is gripped in a concerted drive to eliminate its open housing law by a referendum which would render all future legislation in this field unconstitutional.

In the Florida ACLU-backed 1963 Gideon case and the Illinois ACLU-supported 1964 Escobedo case, the Supreme Court decided that the right to counsel is essential in State as well as Federal criminal trials—and that confessions obtained from defendants denied the advice of counsel cannot be used as evidence. Yet reports stream in from South Carolina and Louisiana, and from the North and West as well, that the principles enunciated by the Supreme Court must be won over and over again.

ACLU's Role in the South

Last summer the Union called together seven other national organizations to create the Lawyers Constitutional Defense Committee, which sent over 100 volunteer attorneys into the South to protect the rights of civil rights workers. The ACLU contributed office space, administrative guidance, and $15,000. The project was dramatically successful—despite the tragic murder of three young CORE and SNCC volunteers.

With a dynamic ACLU presence in the South, every individual, white and Negro, whose civil liberties are violated now has somewhere to turn—every person who desires to raise his voice in defense of freedom now has a banner around which to rally with others whose conviction and courage have not been worn down by ideological and physical terrorism.

Join the American Civil Liberties Union now. Regardless of the outcome of the election, the ACLU will continue to be the only permanent, national, nonpartisan organization devoted solely to the defense of the Bill of Rights for all, without exception.

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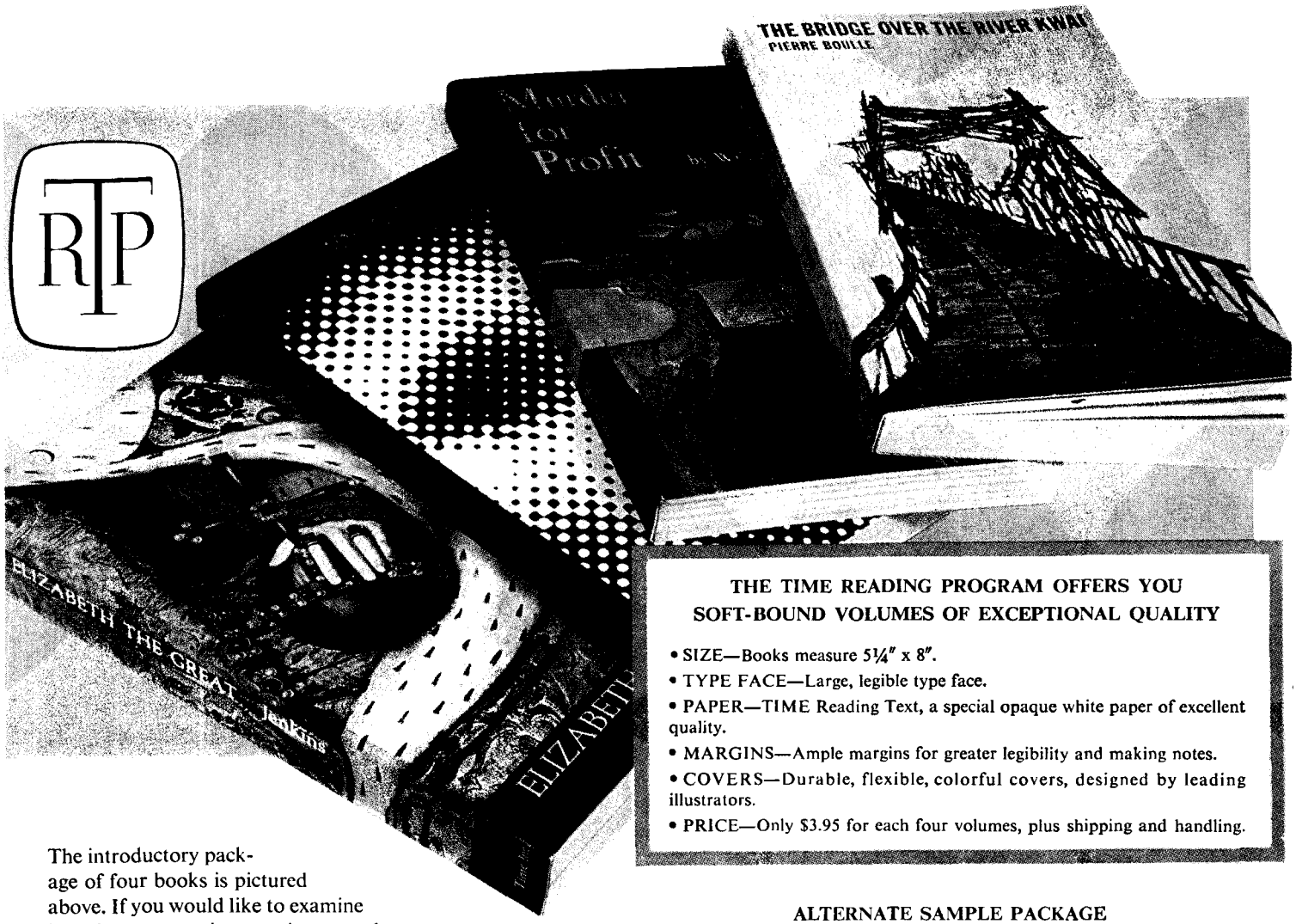

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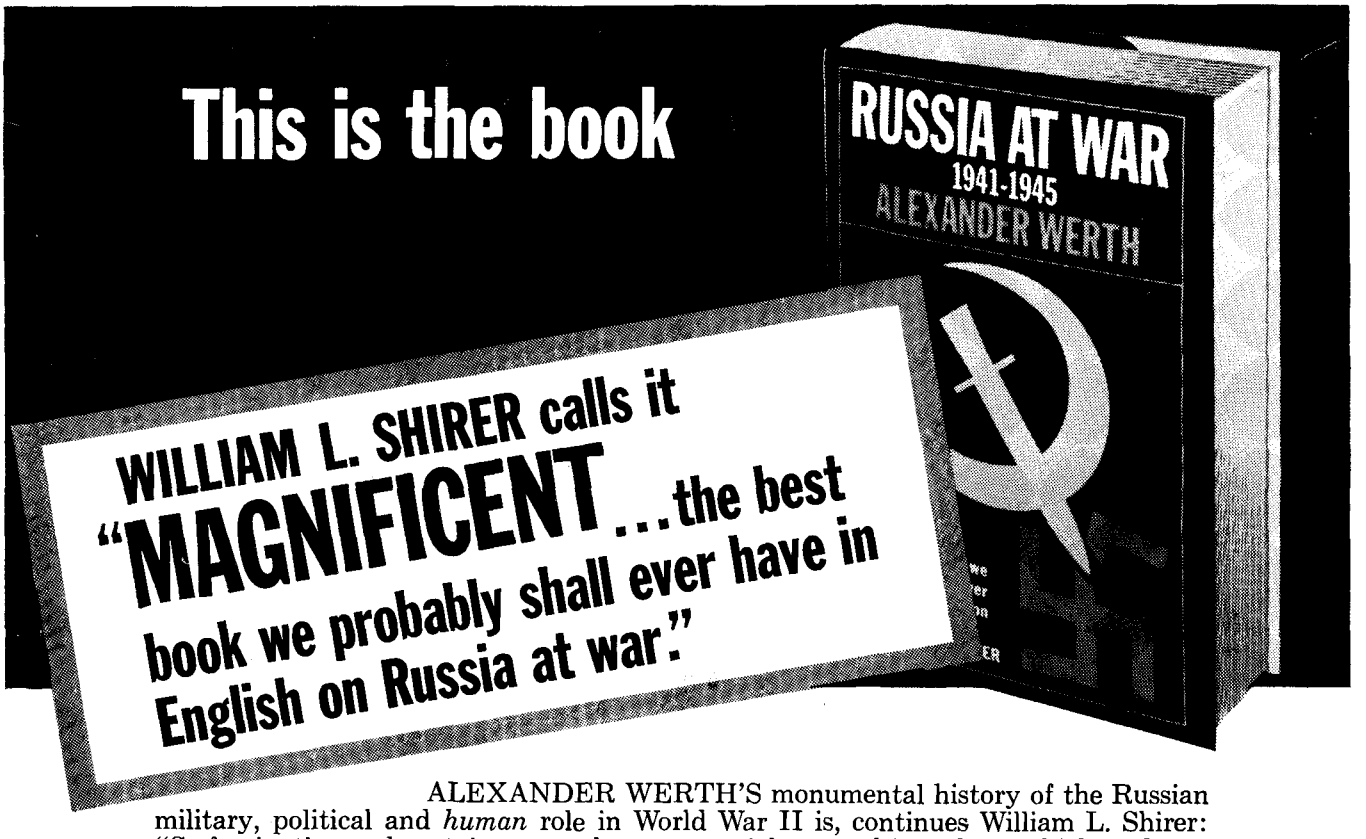

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